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STUDIES OF THE SPANISH MYSTICS

BY

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A M D G

¡Oh grandes, oh riquísimas conquistas,
de las Indias de Dios, de aquel gran mundo
tan escondido a las humanas vistas !

¡Oh patria verdadera,
Descanso de las almas que en ti moran,
Consolación entera
A donde ya no lloran
Los justos, mas con gozo a Dios adoran !

O conquest bringing riches infinite,
The conquest of God's Indies—world so great
And world so far removed from mortal sight !

Juan de los Ángeles.

True native land, all hail !
Thou perfect rest of souls that in thee dwell,
Bliss that can never fail,
Where saints bid tears farewell
And worship God with joy that none can tell !

Attributed to St. John of the Cross.

PREFACE

The second volume of these *Studies of the Spanish Mystics* presents thirteen more figures, some of them very nearly of the highest rank, and together comprising a group which, with that of the seven figures originally treated, may be taken as thoroughly representative of the Golden Age of Spanish Mysticism.

Though not, with hardly an exception, of the same importance in the history of literature as the mystics of the first volume, those now studied are, from the point of view of mysticism itself, no less significant. They are all men of striking personality, who, to a greater or a lesser degree, devoted themselves to seeking out the mystical path for the profit of their own lives and to describing it for the sake of others. Where they are mainly derivative in their teaching it by no means follows that the teaching does not merit discussion. Frequently their historical importance is for that very reason all the greater.

As in the first volume, the order in which these writers have been studied is approximately chronological, and almost unconsciously I have found myself adopting the method of the historian rather than of the biographer or critic. It was inevitable that the historical element should assert itself, and the unwritten History of Spanish Mysticism begin to emerge, as one passed from the greatest writers, who largely transcend the characteristics of their age, to the more representative spirits, who express them. I have made no attempt, however, to depart from the method of the first volume, and have aimed, as before, at giving primarily as complete an account as possible of each writer selected. But beneath the biographical and critical outlines the careful reader will detect, without

much difficulty, the main lines along which mysticism developed in Spain.

This is especially true of that particular mal-development which is known as quietism. Here and there in these studies, a considerable quantity of information—much of it hitherto inaccessible, at least in English—is given concerning the native and the foreign sources of quietistic doctrines as manifested in Spain. My original intention was to make this explicit, by tracing the history of both the essential and the secondary tenets of the Spanish quietists down to the point where they converge in Falconi, and concluding the present volume with a study of Molinos. It soon became clear, however, that this process would require so much space as to increase the size of this volume to an impracticable extent, and also that it would destroy the proportion between the various elements and aspects of the entire subject. I decided, therefore, to devote another book at some time in the future to the sources and manifestations of Spanish quietism. In this it will be possible to outline in the necessary detail the rise of quietism in Spain; to estimate the extent—never yet, I believe, seriously and fully discussed—to which it had its roots in Spanish orthodoxy; to consider critically, not only the prohibited *Letters* of Falconi, but also the curious *Straight Road* and *Brief Compendium*, which I think I am the first to rescue from the oblivion of the monastic library; and finally to study Molinos, as he should be studied, in close relation to his contemporaries in Spain and elsewhere.

The publication of this volume has been somewhat retarded by a variety of causes: principally, by a twelve months' visit to the United States and by the long and arduous work involved in the preparation of my *Ramon Lull, a Biography*, which has appeared since the former volume of these *Studies*. In part, however, the delay has been due to the discovery of masses of completely forgotten mystical work in out-of-the-way Spanish libraries, which, though they cannot yet be utilized, it was necessary to examine at the time, since the chances

of being able to return to them all were extremely remote.

Against these delays must be set a fortunate circumstance, that of my election, in 1928, and again for a shorter period in 1929, to a Visiting Professorship in the University of Madrid. To the generosity of the University of Liverpool in granting me the necessary leave of absence, and to the courtesy of the University of Madrid in allowing me to combine my lectures there with periods of absence for research in Castile, I must here make the most grateful acknowledgment.

In details of method, the remarks made on pp. ix–x of the previous volume hold good. Footnotes have been still further compressed, and references substituted for quotations wherever practicable.[1] All the translations given are my own and have been made expressly for this volume. To distinguish Latin works from Spanish, Latin titles are used in the text for the former and English titles for the latter. In the footnotes, as before, the language used in the title is that of the work.

Some idea of the travel that the writing of this book has necessitated will be gathered from the list of the chief libraries used (pp. 393–4) and from scattered references to others in the Bibliography ; save for one or two libraries in Belgium and Italy I have made personal visits to them all. Comparatively few of the books studied in this second volume are available in the principal libraries of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, the United States, or even Spain. The rarest are to be found, as often as not, in monasteries, seminaries, and minor provincial libraries, or in universities which once were great but have now fallen into decay. In the difficult task of finding them, I have been helped by a host of friends, and, though it is impossible to make mention of all these, I should be wanting in common gratitude if

[1] The first volume of *Studies of the Spanish Mystics* is referred to throughout as *S.S.M.*, I, and my *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, as *Survey*. Other abbreviations are explained in the footnotes or in the Bibliography, at p. 393.

I did not express my obligation to the chief among them.

During the entire period of some four years in which this volume has been in active preparation I have had the invaluable bibliographical co-operation of my friend Dr. Jordi Rubió, librarian of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, whose expert knowledge has always been readily placed at my disposal, and who also enjoys the privilege of easy access to the library of the University of Barcelona, which, as future investigators may find it useful to know, is unusually rich in rare editions of the Spanish mystics of this entire period. Without Dr. Rubió's collaboration, I should have made more than one fruitless journey, the Bibliography would have been slighter than it is, and the publication of the book would have been delayed further.

In Madrid, I have received unusual kindnesses from the staffs of the Biblioteca Nacional, the Biblioteca de San Isidro and the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia. In Salamanca, the Rector of the University granted me the use of the library under exceptionally favourable conditions, which D. Fulgencio Riesgo, at no small inconvenience to himself, made effective. These facilities I owe in the first place to P. Maximiliano Canal, O.P., of the Convento de San Esteban ; and to the monks of that house I am indebted beyond words for the unrestricted use of their library during Holy Week, 1929, and for innumerable pleasant memories of my intercourse with them at that time, as also with the veteran scholar, P. Luis Alonso Getino, O.P., in Madrid.

Every student of the Spanish mystics will visit, sooner or later, the beautiful Avilan library of the Marqués de San Juan de Piedras Albas, and record his appreciation of that scholar's devotion to learning ; but all may not have a cicerone at once so courteous and so well informed as P. Crisógono de Jesús Sacramentado, O.C.D., who for all his youth is one of the foremost Spanish authorities on St. John of the Cross. At the Escorial Library I owe thanks for many kindnesses to P. Melchor M. Antuña ; at Cuenca, to my former

colleague D. Alfredo Malo Zarco ; at Segovia, to the Cathedral archivist, D. Cristino Valverde ; at Segovia and Valencia, to the Marqués de Lozoya ; at Valencia, to the University librarian, D. Fermín Villarroya Izquierdo and my old friend D. José Deleito Piñuela ; at Santander, to another stalwart helper, D. Miguel Artigas, of the Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo ; and at Valladolid, to P. Anselmo Polanco, Rector of the Colegio de Agustinos Filipinos. Acknowledgments of special favours are also due to the librarians of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Institut Catholique of Paris ; of the University libraries of Barcelona, Granada, Santiago de Compostela, Seville and Valladolid ; and of the Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid.

Among representatives of the religious orders who have aided me, not only by procuring definite information, but even more by their interest, friendship and wisdom, a few will always stand out in my memory. The culture and erudition of P. Florencio del Niño Jesús, O.C.D., have been as great a source of knowledge as his much-loved personality has been an inspiration. The important place which Augustinian mysticism takes in these pages has made the help of P. Ignacio Monasterio, O.S.A., and P. Bruno Ibeas, O.S.A., of unusual value. A Madrid Mercedarian, P. Guillermo Vázquez, gave much help on the elusive subject of the writings of Juan Falconi. The Franciscans of Madrid, and especially P. Atanasio López, O.F.M., the learned editor of the *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, have stood my researches in good stead more than once ; while the peaceful library of the Capuchin Fathers at Sarriá, near Barcelona, was rendered the more valuable as a retreat by the presence there of P. Vicente Peralta, O.M.C., who has made a special study of one important aspect of my subject.

A number of my most willing helpers have been those who have either spared me journeys, or facilitated their object, by means of correspondence, especially during the winter of 1929 when I was in America. Above all, I am indebted in this way to P. Anastase de St. Paul, O.C.D., of Rome ; to P. Daniel, O.C.D., of

Ghent ; to P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, O.C.D., the learned Carmelite editor, of Burgos ; to the Prior of the Cartuja de Miraflores ; to P. Camilo M. Abad, S.J., of Valladolid ; to Dr. Francisco Simões Ratolla, of Lisbon ; and to Mr. William Atkinson, of Armstrong College, Newcastle.

A special word of thanks is due to the Benedictine Fathers of Montserrat in connexion with the first chapter of this volume. Not content with welcoming me in 1927 to their monastery, with its rich and well-organized library, they have since that time corresponded freely on some of the more intricate points of García de Cisneros' bio-bibliography, and, finally, have published, at their own cost, my translation of his *Book of Exercises*.

To all these, and to others too numerous to name [1]— for all this great mass of help, without which this volume could never have appeared, I can only, inadequately enough, express my gratitude. And since, both of itself and still more for the good-will which accompanied it, it is of a kind which I can never hope to repay, I must take refuge publicly, as I have already done privately, in one of Spain's all-comprehending phrases, and say to them every one : *¡ Que se lo pague Dios !*

E. A. P.

Columbia University,
New York City,
December 23, 1929.

[1] Notably to the editors of the *Dublin Review* and of the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* for permission to reproduce in chaps. ii, vi, and chap. iv, respectively, portions of articles contributed to their reviews.

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CHAPTER I

THE DAWN OF THE GOLDEN AGE: GARCÍA DE CISNEROS

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I

To a casual observer, if not to a careful student, the literature of Spain may well seem to be one of miraculous beginnings. Whatever may have been the progenitors or contemporaries of the twelfth-century *Poem of My Cid*, they have so long since passed away that the incomparable epic stands out to-day in unrivalled grandeur. No work of continuous fiction that can be unreservedly praised appears in Castilian before the close of the fifteenth century, when, unexpectedly, and as if by accident, one of Spain's greatest geniuses threw off the magnificent dramatic fiction known as the *Celestina*. While as to Spanish drama, the successful rival of prose fiction throughout the Peninsula, its early history is one of age-long gropings and scratchings, till at last, in the brief course of hardly more than a decade, there appear, not masterpieces indeed, but works which point clearly to their imminence.

The Golden Age of Spanish mysticism begins with almost equal unexpectedness. Though isolated works having a mystical tendency can be found throughout mediaeval times, there is nothing in Castilian till the very end of the fifteenth century which can both fairly be called mystical and also be described as of any great merit. Surprising as it may seem, a classic like Ramón Lull's *Book of the Lover and the Beloved* appears to have had no direct literary influence in Castile—indeed it was not for centuries that it was even translated into Castilian. And if Ramón's canticles of fire could not kindle that arid mediaeval Spanish desert, it was hardly to be expected that any other ardent soul would be able to do so.

In the year 1500, however, appeared two treatises, entirely unrelated to each other, either of which is considerably better than anything of the kind that had

appeared in Spain since the death of Ramón Lull. The authors of both, as we shall shortly see, went exclusively outside Spain for their authorities : a not unnatural inference is that they were forced to do so from the paucity of the material which Spain provided. Whether the inference is correct or no will be for the future historian of Spanish mysticism to discuss ; but it may safely be termed so if the productions of religious literature during the last decade of the fifteenth century be any indication of what was available.

In this decade, we meet with one of the earliest Spanish translations of the *Imitation of Christ* (1493),[1] a work attributed commonly to Jean Gerson and often termed *Contemptus Mundi*.[2] Not only so, but a less famous translation of a far less worthy Italian original (1492) goes into a second edition,[3] while Denis the Carthusian attains to three Spanish editions in seven years.[4] Here are indications, at least, of how, at the epoch of the Reconquest (1492), the newly learned art of printing was being turned to the highest uses. But what were Spain's original contributions, in this decade, to religious literature ? Iñigo de Mendoza's pious popular rhymes [5] and Francisco Jiménez' wooden and halting *Book of the life of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (1496) [6] must be taken as typical of them. Another contribution, of a slightly different character, is Pedro Jiménez de Prexano's *Light of the Christian life* (1495).[7] Of this book, the most attractive

[1] The earliest translation printed in Spain was into Catalan (Barcelona, 1482). Of Castilian translations, that of Zaragoza (*c.* 1490) is thought to be the first (J. M. Sánchez : Bibliografía (Bibl., No. 908), No. 20).

[2] Seville, 1493. Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, p. 40 (*Cf.* Escudero (Bibl., No. 896), No. 36).

[3] Viz. Alfonso de Palencia's translation entitled *Espejo de la Cruz*, Seville, 1492 (1st edition, Seville, 1486), which is to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[4] Viz. in 1491 and 1498 (J. M. Sánchez (Bibl., No. 908), Nos. 34, 42, 69).

[5] His *Vita Cristi hecho por coplas* was published first in 1482 at Zaragoza, and re-published there in 1492 and 1495.

[6] *Libro de la vida de nuestro Señor Jesucristo*, Seville, 1496. A copy of this book is in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville. The University of Salamanca has a copy of an edition published the same year in Granada, with additions by the Archbishop, Hernando de Talavera.

[7] *Lucero de la vida cristiana*. Burgos, 1495. The book is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. A Catalan translation (*Llum de la vida christiana*)

features are its title and the fact of its being written, not in the usual Latin of convention, but in Castilian. Its first part, consisting of eighty-seven chapters, gives a prolix and rambling account of the birth and early life of Christ, of His passion and death, His resurrection and ascension, and the coming of the Holy Spirit. The second part, of rather more than half the length of the first, treats of the seven sacraments, and the third part, of laws human and divine and the four Last Things.

More readable, but hardly of greater importance, is the *Vita Christi* of the devout Valencian abbess Sor Isabel de Villena,[1] which, despite its title, is written in "romance"—*i.e.* Lemosin, the Catalan of Valencia—"that the simple and ignorant may know and contemplate the life and death of our Redeemer and Lover, the Lord Jesus." Alas, that the abbess' "elegant y dolç stil," so highly praised, in the preface, by her successor, no longer enthrals us! The book is composed of two hundred and ninety-one chapters, of which the long, formless sentences, linked loosely by conjunctions and relative pronouns, narrate the events of Christ's life, going back, in the fashion of the chivalric romance, to a point of time before the birth of His Mother. The reflections of the abbess are as simple and sincere as her epithets are naïve and unlearned. Pilate is described as "that cruel judge"; the Roman soldiers are "those rabid dogs"; Joseph of Arimathæa is "the noble knight."[2] Only in one respect does Sor Isabel foreshadow the mystics—in the deep and earnest love which manifestly inspires her as she tells her story. Never losing herself in fantastic exuberance or meaningless hyperbole, she writes in something of the style that St. Teresa was within a century to adopt and to surpass

appeared in Barcelona in 1496. Jiménez de Prexano was Bishop of Coria at the end of the fifteenth century. The word *lucero* means "day-star" and can be used both in the sense of "light," "splendour," and in that of "guide."

[1] *Vita Christi de la Abbadessa del monestir de les monges de la Trinitat de la metropolitana ciutat de Valencia.* This was first published, by Sor Isabel's successor, after her death, at Valencia, in 1497; both the first edition and a later one (Valencia, 1513) are in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[2] *Op. cit.*, chaps. 168, 179, 212.

beyond measure. Both women have this in common, that they write without a trace of self-consciousness, their gaze steadily fixed upon the object of their love. In its spirit, if not in its achievement, Sor Isabel's Lemosin is no unworthy successor of the Catalan-provenzal of Ramón the Lover.

But between the productions of Spanish religious literature in 1497 and 1500 there is set a greater gulf than any to be crossed during the early history of the fifteenth century. When, in its last year, there appeared in Seville Gómez García's *Chariot of the two lives*,[1] those who read this new book must have been conscious that there had at last been written in Spain a work of real utility to contemplatives. To-day we see it in a different perspective : all but completely eclipsed by greater works in unbelievable number, and therefore unread and forgotten. It made no claim to be original : it was " compiled . . . and turned from Latin into Romance out of many books and from parts of the sacred Scriptures." [2] Its length is excessive, the plan of its progression none too clear, the metaphor representing the active and contemplative lives as the two wheels of a cart clumsy and ill developed. But, with all these faults, the book has an important place in Spanish mystical history. Its " principal intention is to write something on the matter of contemplation," [3] the last word being taken quite definitely in its mystical sense. For what he writes on contemplation, Gómez García is indebted almost entirely to St. Thomas Aquinas [4] and to Richard of St. Victor.[5] He quotes so freely and so unskilfully that parts of his mystical chapters read almost like an anthology ; only when he passes from the contemplative life to the active does his writing become less derivative and begin to

[1] *Carro de las dos vidas, es a saber de vida activa y vida contemplativa*, Seville, 1500. The book is to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. *Cf.* Escudero (Bibl., No. 896), pp. 112–14.

[2] *Op. cit.*, fol. 2r. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] St. Thomas is the less quoted of the two, and the quotations are not generally important, but the whole book appears to be coloured by his teaching.

[5] In Part I, from chaps. 21 to 37, Richard is almost the sole source ; thenceforward he is again and again utilized for the principal part of a chapter.

cohere. There is not a great deal in the mystical chapters that is practical ; still less is there that might have arisen from the author's own experience. The impression which these chapters leave upon a modern reader is that García was merely endeavouring to put into Spanish (for " los no latinos " [1]) what he considered worth translating from mystical writers of the past.

So much is, at the least, a beginning, but a further great advance was made by the other work which saw the light in 1500—a manual for the would-be mystic which in its compilation as well as in its intention reveals signs of genius. García de Cisneros, in his *Book of Exercises for the Spiritual Life*, shows perhaps as great an improvement upon Gómez García as does that writer upon any of his immediate Spanish predecessors. For its intrinsic merits, it is a work which may be, and is, in fact, still read. Historically it is of still greater importance. If St. Ignatius of Loyola was the first in time of the outstanding mystics of the Golden Age,[2] García de Cisneros was the first of those who can be called mystics at all. Further, his book drew from authors of whom some at least seem to have been completely unknown in Spain before he introduced them there. Its presentation of the mystical life is both coherent and individual, and it exercised an undoubted influence upon the great Saint whose name has just been quoted. The *Book of Exercises* has other claims than these upon our attention, but these alone will give it a sufficient right to occupy us for the main part of a chapter.

II

Gómez García was a priest of the city of Toledo ; García de Cisneros, a Benedictine monk of Montserrat. Lovers of symbolism will not easily forget that, of these two mystical treatises, springing from no Spanish antecedents, the author of one came from the city crowning the rock which rises precipitously from the Castilian plain, the author of the other from the sheer and rugged home

[1] *Op. cit.*, fol. 2r. [2] *S.S.M.*, I, p. 3.

of the Black Virgin which towers above the fertile plains of Catalonia. There is fitness in the thought that these epoch-marking pioneers developed in two such environments. But still more striking is it that the Golden Age of Spanish mysticism may fairly be said to have taken its rise in a spot which, throughout the centuries of the Middle Ages, was one of Spain's pre-eminent shrines of popular devotion.

García Jiménez de Cisneros[1] was born in 1455, at Cisneros, in the province of León, some twenty miles from Palencia. He was an only son, well descended, and his family had ability as well as noble birth, for the great Cardinal, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, was his cousin.[2]

After being educated, it is believed at Salamanca, the leading Spanish university of the day, García de Cisneros entered the monastery of St. Benedict (San Benito el Real) which John I of Castile had founded at Valladolid just before his death in 1390. Though we hear nothing of Cisneros from the date of his taking the habit (1475) till that of 1492, there seems little doubt that for the greater part of this period he held some office in the community. When he emerges again into history it is as the second in command, or sub-prior.

In the year 1492 he comes into prominence in a somewhat striking manner. Not long after the reconquest of Granada, Ferdinand and Isabel, on their way northwards to Roussillon, visited the monastery of Montserrat, and having, like their ancestors, great devotion to the shrine, remarked disapprovingly on the condition into which it had fallen. Founded probably as early as the tenth century, it had won for itself a resplendent name in the early mediaeval period of Spain's history. Visited for a score of generations by pilgrims from all parts of Europe, honoured and endowed by kings, prelates and nobles, it reached the climax of its greatness when in

[1] The *apellido* Jiménez is generally omitted in conformity with Cisneros' own custom, his autograph signature, which is preserved at Montserrat, being "Garsias de Cisneros."

[2] Not his nephew, as is often wrongly said, on the authority of Yepes and others. Cf. *Ejercitatorio*, ed. 1912 (Bibl., No. 1020: the edition cited as *Ejerc.* in this chapter), p. vi, n.; Albareda (Bibl., No. 1033), p. 43.

1410 it was raised to abbatial dignity. But soon after that date it had entered upon a period of swift decline. In the middle of the fifteenth century, its numbers had shrunk so rapidly that it had in residence only seven monks, three hermits, two lay-brothers, two *escolanes* (altar-servers or choir-boys) and one servant. The abbot had become a habitual absentee ; the buildings of the monastery were in a sad state of dilapidation ; and its income was dispersed among a number of its principal dignitaries.

The Catholic Monarchs, anxious to raise the famous monastery once again to its former glory, communicated with the Prior of St. Benedict at Valladolid, who was at that time General of the Benedictine Order in Spain. As a result of this, the Prior went there with twelve monks, among whom was his deputy, Cisneros, to take in hand its reform, for which a bull was issued by the Spanish Pope, Alexander VI, on April 19, 1492. The abbatial dignity of Montserrat was abolished, and, the Abbot, Juan de Peralta, having accepted superannuation in the form of a vacant bishopric, the monastery was united to the house of Valladolid, García de Cisneros, naturally enough, becoming (June 28, 1493) its first prior.

This was a difficult office for a comparatively young man to assume. Reforms imposed from without are seldom popular, and the person entrusted with their enforcement is not, as a rule, to be envied. In the present instance, though the infusion of new blood would have had considerable cleansing properties, there were many reasons why Cisneros' task was particularly difficult.[1] A contemplative, as it would appear, both by temperament and by training, he found himself faced with the task of drawing up new constitutions for each class of religious,[2] and with the harder one of securing their adoption and observance. It is worthy of notice that, while the new statutes were not brought out until 1501, or adopted till late in the year following,[3] the *Book of*

[1] *Cf.* Navarro (Bibl., No. 1044), pp. 32–3.
[2] *Cf.* Yepes (Bibl., No. 1051), vol. iv, pp. 230–5.
[3] Argaiz (Bibl., No. 1036), pp. 126–9.

Exercises for the Spiritual Life, which was intended primarily for the monks, appeared on November 13, 1500. Before the constitutions of the reformed monastery, that is to say, came the spiritual foundation on which the reforms were to be built, and the use of the *Exercises*, including the learning by heart of certain chapters, is expressly enjoined in these constitutions, upon novices, monks, and hermits alike.

The *Exercises* appeared anonymously—for they were printed for convenience only, and all who first used them knew well the name of their author. Both the Spanish and the Latin editions date from 1500. It has sometimes been thought in the past that the Latin edition was the original,[1] but the priority of the Spanish text is now established,[2] and its translator is generally held to have been a monk named Torquemada, who, though he did not profess at Montserrat and only resided there from 1502, is credited with the translation by a number of authorities.[3]

In the same year was printed at Montserrat, also in Spanish and Latin, García de Cisneros' *Directory of the Canonical Hours*, which gives clear and concise instructions on preparation for the Divine Offices, and on the conduct of the individual, during their recitation, "that he may ever be attentive and lift up his soul to God."[4] Like the *Exercises*, the *Directory* was appointed to be used regularly where appropriate. Since its first publication, it has generally been issued as a supplement to the *Book of Exercises*. And this is fitting, not only because it is short, but because the two treatises have much in common. Insistence on methodical meditation, the making of connexions between meditation and vocal prayer, and a strongly practical attention paid to detail in worship are

[1] Haebler (Bibl., No. 898), pp. 107–8.

[2] Contemporary testimony is to be found in the *Liber de reformatione huius monasterii*, fol. 7. *Cf.* Albareda, *op. cit.*, p. 143. Also *Ejerc.*, chap. 69, p. 271: "El cual compilamos así en vulgar; porque nuestra intención ha sido de hacerle para los simples devotos, y no para los letrados soberbios." There is, as we should expect, no corresponding passage in the Latin text.

[3] Albareda, pp. 142–4. Cf. *Analecta Montserratensia*, 1922, vol. iv, p. 101: "Una història inèdita de Montserrat."

[4] *Directorio*, Prólogo.

perhaps the three chief characteristics of the *Directory*. Since this book is in no sense mystical it will be unnecessary to deal with it further. But these same characteristics we shall also find, and very markedly, in the *Exercises*.

In various ways, during the years between his election as Prior and the adoption of his constitutions, Cisneros' efficiency and success had been recognized. The Catholic Monarchs were so greatly struck by his work at Montserrat that they endeavoured, though not very successfully, to effect reforms through his agency in other Benedictine houses of Catalonia. The congregation at Valladolid, which was the centre of an extensive reform movement, not only approved his new statutes, but adopted his *Exercises*, and employed him frequently in personal consultations. In another sphere, his ability was utilized by the secular powers in the public service. In 1496, Charles VIII of France, who had been at war with Ferdinand the Catholic over the kingdom of Naples, found that Spanish opposition was becoming too strong for him and proposed to Ferdinand peace and a division of spoils. In the delicate negotiations which preceded the signing of a treaty between France and Spain (1497), the Prior of Montserrat was one of the Spanish ambassadors.[1] The story goes that when Ferdinand offered Cisneros a recompense for his services, the Prior asked that Montserrat should be restored to its abbatial status. Be the reason what it may, the event took place in 1499 and García de Cisneros became Abbot.[2]

There now began for the monastery an epoch of such prosperity as it had not known for generations. Pilgrims flocked to it once more, bringing offerings, small and great, which were augmented by the benefactions of nobles and by the pence of the poor of Catalonia, collected by the brethren. Freed by its promotion from subordination to Valladolid, it took under its wing San Ginés, near Perpignan, the Priory of San Sebastián, and the

[1] Navarro (Bibl., No. 1044), pp. 61–4, 79–82. The other ambassador was the Duque de Estrada.

[2] Colomé (Bibl., No. 1041), p. 461.

venerable monastery of Santa Cecilia,[1] whose abbot the new pope, Julius II, had once been. The monastery church of Montserrat was newly adorned and beautified. With the aid of one Juan Luschner, of Barcelona, a printing-press was established (1500)[2] and a number of books, including those already described, were produced in the year of its foundation. New buildings sprang up —a school for the *escolanes*, a novice-house and a library : for the last the Abbot had brought books from France, and acquired others from the library at Valladolid.[3] Rules for monks, lay-brothers, chaplains, hermits and *escolanes* were drawn up, and a book of ceremonies, combining past tradition with present expediency.[4] A confraternity was formed, and new provision made for pilgrims, with the expectation of attracting multitudes such as had frequented the sacred mountain in the Middle Ages. If contemporary accounts may be wholly believed, this object was in great part attained.

For eighteen years, until his death (November 27, 1510) García de Cisneros ruled the monastery of Montserrat with all the efficiency and distinction which we should expect of him. The efficiency, it is true, we have to deduce from such facts as we have recorded above, for contemporary testimony dwells rather upon the distinction. Nor was this the superficial impressiveness of a prelate accustomed to command ; the keynote of Cisneros' government, as of his whole life, was a deep spirituality. In his talks to the monks, both in public and in private, we read, " were revealed the flames of fire of the love of God which was all his sustenance." And his speech, though ever of the life of prayer, was not that of words dulcet and gentle, but went straight to the very souls of his hearers, " cleaving them, as it were, with arrows." [5]

[1] Argaiz (Bibl., No. 1036), p. 311.

[2] Navarro, pp. 59–60. *Cf.* Watrigant (Bibl., No. 1049), p. 196, Groult (Bibl., No. 912), p. 65, n. 5.

[3] *Cf.* Argaiz, pp. 124 ff., Navarro, pp. 58–60.

[4] See Bibl., p. 402, note.

[5] *Vida*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1032), fol. 117r.

III

The first thing to be noted in the *Book of Exercises for the Spiritual Life* is the orderliness of its plan. The first three sections, short and closely related to one another, may be said to form its first part, while a longer fourth section, which forms a second part, is similarly divisible into three. The first section (chapters 1–19), after outlining the author's ideals of spiritual progress, and describing such ordered exercises as he thinks likely to ensure their attainment, lays down exercises connected with the Purgative Way, to be undertaken daily, after Matins, and repeated week by week, for so long as seems advisable. The second section (chapters 20–25) deals wholly with the Illuminative, and the third (chapters 26–30) with the Unitive Way, each section containing both expository matter and detailed exercises. The three sections taken together comprise in actual length rather less than half the entire volume.

The three parts of the fourth section, which is concerned exclusively with the life of contemplation, are each of about the length of one of the three sections preceding—if anything, slightly longer. The first eighteen chapters of this section (31–48) treat of the nature of contemplation : the contemplative life contrasted with the active life, the qualities required for the former, its impulses and aims, the conditions in which it flourishes, and the examples of it given by certain saints. Twelve chapters (49–60) then describe the part to be played in contemplation by the life and passion of Jesus Christ, the principal events in which are described in the form of a compendium " for the exercise of those that have newly entered upon contemplation," [1] as well as being rehearsed summarily in Latin " for the more practised and instructed." [2] Finally, nine chapters treat of perseverance in contemplation, of the hindrances which

[1] Chap. 52 (*Ejerc.*, p. 181 ; English translation (Bibl., No. 1022 : referred to in the footnotes of this chapter as *Trans.*), p. 231).

[2] Chap. 53 (*Ejerc.*, p. 185 ; *Trans.*, p. 236).

persevering contemplatives encounter, and of the ways in which they may be surmounted. Thus ends a treatise " wherein, if a man exercise himself diligently, by reading, meditation, prayer or contemplation, he will quickly and readily, with the aid of the Lord, be raised on high, and united with Him by fervent love, and in that state he may most surely await the happiness which is to come, and the prize and reward of his work." [1]

Any criticism as to the originality of his book García de Cisneros disarms both at the beginning and at the end of it by describing it as merely a " compilation." [2] In days when originality in the guise of a compilation was scarcely less frequent than plagiarism pretending to originality, we must not take such a confession too literally. It is clear, however, from the *Exercises*, that the Abbot read widely, and that many of the fruits of his reading are collected in them. It is unnecessary to specify examples of his use (so constant is it) of SS. Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Anselm, Bernard, Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas, or to search for passages in which he draws upon mystical writers who had already been used in Spain, as pseudo-Dionysius and the Victorines. These, together with St. Benedict, and a few classical profane authors, are the whole of his non-contemporary authorities.

But his main sources, which the casual reader is apt to overlook, are of much later date than any of these. In the first three sections of his book Cisneros draws principally upon pseudo-Dionysius, who supplies him with the bulk of three entire chapters (22, 28, 29), and with various other passages, and upon three less known authors, all of them his contemporaries. One of these, Henry (or Hugh) of Balma (or Palma), was to enter the domains of Spanish mysticism, though somewhat infrequently,[3] during the whole course of the sixteenth century, and it is of interest to find him here at so early a date. His close connexion with St. Bonaventura, to

[1] Chap. 69 (*Ejerc.*, p. 271 ; *Trans.*, p. 333).
[2] *Cf.* Erhard Drinkwelder (Bibl., No. 1028), p. 11.
[3] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 361, 391.

whom his *Theologia mystica* was commonly ascribed, is no doubt partly responsible for his popularity.[1]

Gérard Zerbolt of Zutphen, a young Flemish religious, who died, at the age of thirty-one, in 1398, may also be considered a contemporary, for his chief work—a " devotus tractulus " entitled *De spiritualibus ascensionibus*—was not published till long after his death. It is made use of continually by Cisneros (being cited by its first words " Beatus vir ") [2] from his prologue onwards, and he evidently thought very highly of it, for it was one of the first works to be printed (May 16, 1499) at Montserrat—indeed, this may have been its first introduction to Spain. Both this and Balma's treatise deal systematically with the three ways of the mystical life, and Cisneros is often content to point to them rather than to quote from them.[3]

Finally, an important source for the former half of the *Exercises* is Jean Mombaer (Johannes Mauburnus), who was still alive when Cisneros' book was published, and whose *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum*, first published in 1491, was itself a collection of spiritual exercises and may not improbably have been responsible for the idea of the volume now under consideration. It is a formidable and encyclopædic treatise, but to Cisneros' business-like mind its extreme orderliness must have made a strong appeal, as also its love of epigrammatic truisms and mnemonic precepts. P. Watrigant, who has studied Cisneros' debts to Mombaer in detail, claims that " almost all the practical directions, and almost all that relates to general method in spiritual exercises " [4] may be found in the *Rosetum*. Chapters 2 to 7 are taken from it in their totality, and chapters 8 to 17 are inspired by it.

In the fourth section of the *Exercises*, Cisneros is still indebted principally to his contemporaries. Chapters 49, 50, 51, 52 and 68 are all but verbally taken from Gérard

[1] *Cf.* pp. 163–4, 291, below. [2] Cf. *Ejerc.*, p. 4 ; *Trans.*, p. 20.

[3] Cisneros also cites Gérard's *Homo quidem*, but this is less important, both intrinsically and for its influence on him.

[4] Watrigant (Bibl., No. 1049), p. 204.

of Zutphen. The author, however, responsible above all others for this section, is Jean Gerson, who was already known in Spain to general readers of Spanish as well as to professed scholars. Gerson's *Mons Contemplationis* is the source, both of the chapters which precede the meditations taken from Zutphen and of those which follow them. The final chapter, arranged to form an "alphabet" of the kind which Francisco de Osuna later popularized in Spain,[1] is taken from a *Tractatus de elevatione mentis in Deum*, also known as *Alphabetum divini amoris*, and incorrectly, but at the time commonly, ascribed to Gerson only. Gerson's minor works are also drawn upon in this section, together with the writings of St. Bonaventura—these last chiefly in chapters 58 and 59.

With all its dependence upon preceding treatises, the *Book of Exercises* in no way leaves the impression of being a compilation. This is due partly to the author's avoidance of the unskilful methods of quotation common in his day, and especially to his substitution of "the saints" for particular names, Cisneros' principle apparently being to cite by name only those authors whose status was undisputed and whose authority none would gainsay. To the general reader, therefore, the *Exercises* appear to be strongly influenced by the Fathers, the Victorines and Dionysius, but in the main original. When Cisneros mentions his contemporaries at all, it is generally by the titles of their writings. Gerson is actually referred to by name fifteen times, but this frequency is quite exceptional: he was the reputed author of the universally approved *Contemptus Mundi* and might safely be cited. With others it was different. The *Beatus Vir*, for all the use made of it, is named only thrice. Suso, whose *Horologium aeternae sapientiae* is briefly referred to, is described simply as a "new doctor,"[2] though he had been dead for a century and a half when Cisneros wrote, and could be considered new only by comparison with the Fathers or by virtue of being little known in Spain.

The other reason for the impression of originality

[1] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, p. 83, n. 1.

[2] Chap. 46 (*Ejerc.*, p. 168 ; *Trans.*, p. 215).

which the *Exercises* give is the ease and naturalness of their style. The author would have claimed for his book little or no literary merit, and in truth its chief merit is a complete lack of affectation, a homeliness which fittingly clothes its sincerity. Considering the immature state of Spanish prose at the end of the fifteenth century, however, we may be surprised that the prolixity of the argument is not more marked, that the length of chapters and sentences is not greater, that the number of vivid and forcible passages is so noteworthy. The Abbot had certainly in him the makings of a writer : had he but had a longer literary apprenticeship and then applied himself assiduously to literature, he might well have become one of Spain's foremost prose-writers.

Of the more positive stylistic merits of the *Book of Exercises*, the chief is undoubtedly its imagery. Cisneros has something of the pictorial gift of the acceptable popular preacher. When isolated, his similes, though numerous, are for the most part trite. The sun, the stars,[1] cleansing and heat-giving fire,[2] the dew (of prayer and of grace),[3] the germinating seed, the ship and its harbour, the food and drink of the soul[4]—all these are presented without distinction. But occasionally it is the very brevity, familiarity and unpretentiousness of the similitudes that fix them in the memory, and, even where they are not original, the adapter's handling of them is wholly admirable. In two or three words, vain thoughts are referred to as flies [5]—not for the first time, it may be said, but with what commendable terseness ! The faithful dog is introduced in a sentence of ten words.[6] Nine words suffice to describe the cleansing of rusty iron and a tarnished mirror [7] ; sixteen to instance the drying of flax and its subsequent kindling by the sun.[8]

[1] *Ejerc.*, pp. 74, 93, 95, 131 ; *Trans.*, pp. 105, 127, 128, 129, 170.
[2] *Ejerc.*, pp. 2–3, 4–5, 15, 99, 126, 245 ; *Trans.*, pp. 19, 22, 34, 133, 164–5, 304.
[3] *Ejerc.*, pp. 29, 45, 94 ; *Trans.*, pp. 50, 69, 128.
[4] *Ejerc.*, pp. 3, 249, 258, 25, 27 ; *Trans.*, pp. 19, 309, 318, 46, 48.
[5] *Ejerc.*, p. 29, *cf.* 105 ; *Trans.*, p. 51, *cf.* 141.
[6] *Ejerc.*, p. 23 ; *Trans.*, p. 43.
[7] *Ejerc.*, p. 43, *cf.* 45, 74 ; *Trans.*, p. 67, *cf.*, 69, 105.
[8] *Ejerc.*, pp. 94–5 ; *Trans.*, p. 128.

Other examples like these may be found without difficulty.

Yet, effective as are these similitudes, especially in relation to their length, Cisneros' images are at their best when presented in series of Ignatian pictures for meditation. In language which even to-day is striking, which beside that of Isabel de Villena or Gómez García is incomparable, and which in their times and Cisneros' own would have had immeasurably greater force than now, the preacher's imagination paints scenes in Heaven and in Hell which succeed one another with economy of language wonderful at an epoch and in a nation always splendidly prodigal of words:

> Represent to thyself a terrible abyss, a place beneath the earth, a pit very deep and full of flames.
>
> Think of a most terrible city, very great and in complete darkness, yet afire with flames which are most terrible and dark, from the midst whereof come shrieks and dreadful cries ; for all that are therein do cry out by reason of their pains, which no tongue of man can describe.
>
> By these and such like similitudes consider thou the great cruelty of their torments. . . . Think likewise of cold and of insufferable odours ; think of the gnashing of teeth, the groans, plaints and blasphemies addressed to God, all the which things bear witness to the cruelty of these torments.
>
> Think likewise upon the multitude of these pains. For in Hell there is a fire most fierce and inextinguishable, an intolerable cold, fierce odours insufferable, darkness that may be felt, and torment of each of the senses. The eyes are tormented by the gestures of the devils, and other terrible things that shall be seen. The hearing, by cries, groans and sounds of wailing.
>
> Think of the miserable companionship of Hell, and the cruelty of the tormentors, who are without pity soever, and never weary in giving tortures, nor are ever moved to mercy. Nay, they insult the tortured, saying : " Where is now thy glory ? Where thy high estate ? Where is thy pride ? Where are thy lustful delights ? " And even so with the other sins.[1]

[1] Chap. 14 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 56–7 ; *Trans.*, pp. 82–3).

IV

When we approach the consideration of any work from the mystical standpoint, we invariably find ourselves first enquiring what is its aim. The aim of Cisneros' *Book of Exercises*, though occasionally described in some such indefinite words as "approach to God" and "the attainment to Divine love,"[1] is more commonly stated in the language of mystical writers of all ages. "This book is written," says the prologue, "for the great utility of those who desire to make progress in the spiritual life," the "desired end" of such being the union of the soul with God.[2] "Our goal," runs another passage, "is to love God without any mean and to imprint Him in our heart."[3] And again and again we meet the phrase: "our aim . . . is to unite (*ayuntar*) the soul with God."[4] Once, towards the end of the book, Cisneros declines, because of his unworthiness, to enter into a description of the nature of this Union,[5] and once, again, he declares that "the contemplative must be content to know God above when he comes to the glory of Heaven," and on earth must not "desire to know what God is in His nature, through direct vision."[6] But, as the aim of this last statement is to discourage those who are constantly believing themselves to have corporal visions, it must be taken with its context, and as relating principally to the type of person described there.

[1] *E.g.*, "con deseo de alcanzar el amor divinal" (*Ejerc.*, p. 3; *Trans.*, p. 20); "este fin, que es el amor de Dios y la pureza del corazón" (*Ejerc.*, p. 11, *cf.* p. 132; *Trans.*, pp. 30, 171); "el fin de nuestros ejercicios . . . es alcanzar la pureza del corazón y la perfecta caridad de Dios" (*Ejerc.*, p. 14; *Trans.*, p. 33); "ninguna cosa tanto debe deleitar como morar con Dios" (*Ejerc.*, p. 30; *Trans.*, p. 52); "que el fin de la vida contemplativa sea el amor divinal" (*Ejerc.*, p. 146; *Trans.*, p. 190); "este amor es el fin de la vida contemplativa" (*Ejerc.*, p. 150; *Trans.*, p. 195). *Cf.* such phrases as "la carrera espiritual para se allegar a Dios" (*Ejerc.*, p. 26; *Trans.*, p. 46) and "subir a la contemplación y usar de los abrazados del esposo" (*Ejerc.*, p. 30; *Trans.*, p. 51), which may be described as semi-mystical.

[2] *Ejerc.*, pp. 1–2; *Trans.*, p. 18.

[3] *Ejerc.*, p. 11; *Trans.*, p. 30.

[4] *Ejerc.*, pp. 25, 71, 100, 104, 133, 268; *Trans.*, pp. 45, 100, 135, 140, 173, 330.

[5] Chap. 66 (*Ejerc.*, p. 251; *Trans.*, p. 311).

[6] Chap. 65 (*Ejerc.*, p. 248; *Trans.*, p. 308).

García de Cisneros' aim, then, being the aim of the mystic, how does he propose to accomplish it? In the first place, by drawing up methodical exercises, "according to the three ways which are called Purgative, Illuminative and Unitive, to the end that, by means of the practice thereof, and through prayer and contemplation, [the exercitant] may mount by ordered steps till he reach the desired end, which is the union of the soul with God."[1] It is hardly necessary here to reproduce the arguments[2] which he uses to impress upon his readers (who were to be primarily his own monks) the necessity for "the soul that desires to live in the love of Our Lord" to "have fitting hours wherein it may withdraw itself apart and unfailingly have time for prayer."[3] But it should be noticed that, at the very beginning of his book, he places the regular, daily use of these exercises in direct relation with the exercitant's sublime goal:

> In this book, most beloved brethren, we shall treat of how the exercitant and devout man should exercise himself . . . and how, by means of certain and determinate exercises, according to the days of the week, he may rise to the attainment of his desired end by Meditation, Prayer and Contemplation, undertaken in due order, his desired end being the union of the soul with God.[4]

In describing the three Ways, Cisneros uses the familiar metaphors, taken from the Fathers and from Gerson. These stages are compared to the kiss of the feet, of the hands and of the mouth[5]; to the smoke of a fire, a smoky flame and a pure flame[6]; to the three stages in the germination of a seed[7]; and so on. It may be well, however, to set down at this point a clear statement of the distinction which he makes between them:

[1] Chap. 7 (*Ejerc.*, p. 24; *Trans.*, p. 45).
[2] See, *e.g.* chaps. 3, 5, 9, 25, *passim*.
[3] Chap. 8 (*Ejerc.*, p. 27; *Trans.*, p. 47).
[4] Prólogo (*Ejerc.*, pp. 1–2; *Trans.*, p. 18).
[5] Chap. 27 (*Ejerc.*, p. 112; *Trans.*, pp. 149–50).
[6] Prólogo (*Ejerc.*, pp. 2–3; *Trans.*, p. 19).
[7] Prólogo (*Ejerc.*, p. 3; *Trans.*, pp. 19–20).

In the exercise of the first Way, which is called Purgative, we seek God, but, although we indeed find Him, we find Him not after the manner of fervent love. In the second Way, which is the Illuminative, we offer victims and sacrifices of praise and great desire, with hope and yearning for happiness. In the third Way, which is the Unitive, we find Him whom our soul loves and desires.

So that in the first Way we forsake the lusts of the world ; in the second, the spirit is enlightened and raised on high ; in the third, it has tranquillity and rest in God.[1]

He adds that in this present life it is impossible to walk in any one of the three ways perfectly.[2]

The aim of the Purgative Way is " to cleanse, purge and chasten the spirit, both from vice and sin, as also from corrupt affections, to the end that it may be fit to receive the graces and gifts of the Holy Spirit." [3] It has three elements—the asperative, the compunctive and the elevative, each of which is described fully. In the first meditation, for example, on sin, the exercitant is to wound himself by remembrance of his misdeeds, then to move himself to sorrow, and lastly, to lift up his heart to God, imploring pardon. The meditations for the Purgative Way are, for the seven days of the week respectively, beginning with Monday, on Sin, Death, Hell, Judgment, the Passion, Our Lady and Heaven.

After the exercitant has practised these meditations for a month,[4] he may pass to the Illuminative Way—that is, if " he still sets ever a careful watch over his life, so that he may no longer have to purge himself daily." [5] He may " know if he be purged " by considering how far he has attained the three virtues of " fortitude, severity, benignity." [6] Once " cleansed from the rust of his evil works," he may " soar hence straightway to the illumination of the rays of the Divine Light." [7]

For a description of the Illuminative Way, Cisneros

[1] Chap. 30 (*Ejerc.*, p. 132 ; *Trans.*, p. 172). [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Chap. 2 (*Ejerc.*, p. 6 ; *Trans.*, p. 24). *Cf.* chap. 20 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 73–4 ; *Trans.*, pp. 104–5).

[4] *Cf.* p. 26, below and *S.S.M.*, I, p. 11, n. 4.

[5] Chap. 19 (*Ejerc.*, p. 71 ; *Trans.*, pp. 100–1).

[6] Chap. 19 (*Ejerc.*, p. 72 ; *Trans.*, p. 101).

[7] Chap. 20 (*Ejerc.*, p. 73 ; *Trans.*, p. 104).

draws briefly upon Dionysius.[1] It "illumines, kindles and incites every man to love God" [2] and the exercises which correspond to it—meditations upon the favours and benefits bestowed by God upon man—are to be practised in much the same manner as the preceding ones, but after Compline instead of after Matins. Each is not necessarily to be completed at the time allotted to it: the more essential thing is that what is done should be done carefully, that the soul may be "enkindled with love, until, if this may be, it becomes lost in wonder." [3]

> It behoves thee never to allow thy mind to wander from an exercise, nor to hasten thee to complete it. Rather, if in the beginning thereof the Lord should visit thee with the grace of devotion and compunction, thou shalt retire within thyself, and remain in tranquillity, keeping this grace within thee, and allowing thy heart to be enlarged with its desires. And spend thou all thy time of prayer in this manner.[4]

The subjects of meditation in the Illuminative Way, from Monday to Sunday respectively, are the benefits of creation, gratification, vocation, justification, the gifts of God, the governance of God and the glory of God.

In the Unitive Way (called in one place "unitive and contemplative," [5] in another, "perfective"),[6] the exercitant who is already purged and enlightened becomes united in love to his Creator, and rejoices in His perfections, desiring, both readily and joyously, to please Him alone. "Now he magnifies Him, now he praises Him, now he marvels at His greatness and languishes in love for Him." [7] Dionysius is again drawn upon in the descriptions which follow:

> In the Unitive Way the exercitant lifts up his heart with great love to God, withdrawing himself from all vanities and all things created, taking his affection from creature love and turning it to love of the Creator.[8]

[1] Chap. 22. [2] Chap. 22 (*Ejerc.*, p. 80; *Trans.*, p. 112).
[3] Chap. 23 (*Ejerc.*, p. 83; *Trans.*, p. 116).
[4] Chap. 23 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 83–4; *Trans.*, pp. 116–17).
[5] Prólogo (*Ejerc.*, p. 3; *Trans.*, p. 19).
[6] Chap. 26 (*Ejerc.*, p. 104; *Trans.*, p. 140).
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Chap. 26 (*Ejerc.*, p. 105; *Trans.*, p. 141).

This Way is reached by inward recollection of thyself from outward things to things which are within ; from things which are low to things which are high ; from things of time to things of eternity.[1]

The exercitant must by this time be " rooted in virtues," attuned to " the silence that is within," " in loving union with God," seeking naught, knowing " that God his Well-Beloved is wholly sufficient for him," and ever mindful of God's perfections.[2] The exercises, to be practised at this stage, daily, as before, and after Matins, are all concerned with the Being of God. He is to be considered, in turn, as " the beginning and the end of all things," " the beauty of the universe," " the glory of the world," " wholly love," " the Ruler of all things," " our most tranquil Governor," and our " all-sufficient Giver." [3]

It will be noticed that we have described these three series of exercises as " corresponding " to the three traditional Ways rather than as " belonging " to them. García de Cisneros does not intend it to be thought that his exercitant is actually experiencing the Illuminative and the Unitive Life when he is engaging in the exercises just detailed. But his language is such that this is by no means evident save to those who study him closely. The reader, therefore, who has arrived at the termination of these exercises, is surprised to find that although the Unitive Way is said to " unite the soul with God and make it perfect," [4] the exercitant has still " to mount the six steps which lead to the union of the soul with God." [5] The exercises, if faithfully practised, will have prepared the soul for a partially supernatural " contemplation." " The spirit, which for some time has been exercised in the manner aforesaid, is lifted up to God without any labour of the understanding or of aught else soever, and

[1] Chap. 26 (*Ejerc.*, p. 106 ; *Trans.*, p. 142).
[2] Chap. 26 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 106–7 ; *Trans.*, pp. 142–3).
[3] Chap. 27 (*Ejerc.*, p. 108 ; *Trans.*, p. 145).
[4] Chap. 26 (*Ejerc.*, p. 104 ; *Trans.*, p. 140).
[5] Chap. 27, title (*Ejerc.*, p. 108 ; *Trans.*, p. 145).

is united with Him." [1] This "contemplation" is described as being "the work of God alone": "the soul at this stage is receptive rather than active with regard to the understanding," for there reigns in it "the affection of love alone," and neither sense nor understanding has any part therein." [2]

It must be admitted that, in these chapters which deal with contemplation, and even more in the fourth section of the *Exercises*, where their teaching is greatly elaborated, Cisneros is considerably less clear than elsewhere. He is drawing not so much upon his own imagination or experience as upon authorities—frequently, as we have said, termed vaguely "the saints"—prominent among whom are Dionysius and Gerson. And it is "the saints" who have discovered six degrees of "holy, unitive and perfective love"—namely Illumination, Enkindled love, Sweetness, Desire, Fullness and Rapture.[3]

These degrees are described successively and succinctly. By Illumination is signified a process which leaves in the soul "an experimental knowledge of God" and leads naturally to the state of Enkindled love, in which the soul "neither thinks of aught else nor finds pleasure therein" save in the love of God. There follows again an "inexpressible delight, which is greater far than all other delights of the world" and is termed "the third degree and work of this holy love and contemplation." The fourth degree is called Desire, because the soul's longing is now "to be united with Him in continual love and feeling, so that it would rather suffer any kind of torment, other than sin, than be withdrawn for a single hour from that supreme delight which it has found in its Beloved." In the fifth degree, that of Fullness, this desire is satisfied, so that the soul "neither seeks nor desires aught beside, but rather finds all else to be death, nor wills to possess aught," save God, "in the possession of Whom it possesses all things." Finally, "from all these five degrees . . . proceeds the sixth,

[1] Chap. 28 (*Ejerc.*, p. 121; *Trans.*, p. 160). [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Chap. 30 (*Ejerc.*, p. 128; *Trans.*, p. 167).

which is called Rapture of the spirit or the soaring of the soul above itself." [1]

"Learned men," it now appears, add two further steps or degrees to those given above : one of these is a state characterized by security, and the other by complete tranquillity.[2] They do not seem to differ the one from the other greatly.

The first of these is called Security ; for as the soul sees itself to be so greatly beloved by its Spouse Jesus Christ, and by Him enlightened, enkindled with love and led on to delight and rapture, it conceives of Him and in Him a tranquillity so secure that there is no torment nor bodily hurt nor death in all the world which it would hesitate to suffer for love of Him ; nor has it any longer fear of aught soever. And so great is its trust in that eternal goodness which it has tasted and experienced in the Lord, that it has no fear of separation from Him any more ; but rather it has a certain trust that it will be with Him eternally in glory. O how great is the joy which dwells in that soul for all time, when it sees and experiences a foretaste of the happiness whereof it has most certain expectation !

The second degree and step of these two which are added by holy men is called Perfection of Repose ; for the soul in this state can be affrighted by no tribulation, neither by bodily hurt nor fear, and its peace and tranquillity are therefore perfect, and so great, that no tongue can describe them. Upon this, Richard of Saint Victor, in his Contemplations, writes as follows : "O Christian soul, since thou mayest ascend to this paradise and dwell therein while yet thou art in this life, sell all that thou hast and all thy knowledge, that thou mayest buy this glorious possession. And think it not dearly bought, for he that sells it is Christ, and He offers to sell it to all such as will buy."

As the foregoing exposition suggests, the mysticism of García de Cisneros presents some interesting characteristics, which in several ways differentiate it from the mysticism of his successors. Of these the chief is perhaps the importance which he gives to mental exercises, for this colours his entire system. He adapts the three traditional stages of the mystic life, with considerable

[1] Chap. 30 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 128–30 ; *Trans.*, pp. 169–70).
[2] Chap. 30 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 131–3 ; *Trans.*, pp. 170–1).

effect, to his own purpose, and to many of his readers the chapters containing the meditations based upon them are the principal part of the book. They think of it as a threefold collection of exercises, together with some supplementary chapters of less practical value, forgetting that these last occupy half the book. To make such a collection, and nothing more, may have been the whole of the author's original plan, but it is certainly not the whole of what he achieved. Possibly the book grew in length beyond his intention, in proportion as his reading widened and his realization of how to use it grew completer.

A more serious misconception is that which represents Cisneros as leading his exercitants, by means of these exercises, into each of the three traditional ways in turn. This he can only be said in quite a secondary sense to do, and, as it were, on a lower plane, in a way which anticipates, though somewhat differently, an important post-Teresan development of Spanish mysticism. In reality, as we have already hinted, the exercises belong in their entirety to the Purgative Way. Otherwise, how could the time-limit of a month be set to the first group?[1] Or how could the exercitant be encouraged to practise, "in each one of them . . . all three"[2]? They are a training-ground for higher methods of prayer. They consist solely of vocal prayer and meditation. It is only when they are completed that the exercitant finds himself in the true Illuminative Way, which corresponds to the first four of the higher stages of love (Illumination, Enkindled love, Sweetness and Desire), while the Unitive Way is to be found in the fifth and sixth stages, those of Fullness and Rapture.

This arrangement of the Purgative Way so as to make it mirror the whole of the mystical life in little is characteristic both of a practical idealist like Cisneros and of one in his peculiar and delicate position. Writing for monks in a house of which the great traditions had been interrupted, and which was slowly being reformed

[1] Chap. 19 (*Ejerc.*, p. 71; *Trans.*, p. 100). *Cf.* p. 21, above.

[2] Chap. 12 (*Ejerc.*, p. 51; *Trans.*, p. 76). *Cf.* conclusion of chap. 23 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 92–3).

and reinspired, he would of necessity have to provide much material for the immature, and no doubt also for some whose vocation was rather to the mixed life than to that of the pure contemplative. Whatever were the reasons for the stress which he laid on the lower grades of prayer, he did well to plan his meditations on lines suggestive of the higher grades, insisting the while, again and again, upon the aim which all prayer sets before it, and finally outlining, as a rule in clear and unambiguous language, the steps which lead to this aim.

Second only in importance to this constructive characteristic of the *Exercises* is the stress which they lay upon the relating of meditation and contemplation with the life of Christ. It is natural enough to find this in the earlier exercises, for infallibly, to all religious writers, " the life of the Saviour, and His death and passion, are like to a door whereby a man may enter into Divine love " [1] and " His most holy life, example and doctrine " are " naught else than a resplendent brightness to enlighten our souls." [2] Into the higher reaches of prayer, however, where meditation ceases and imageless contemplation has free play, many writers admit the theme of the Sacred Humanity more grudgingly, or even exclude it. Not so García de Cisneros. True to the prevailing tendency in the religious literature of his day,[3] he follows the Franciscan tradition as exemplified by St. Bonaventura, which was soon to develop markedly in Spain. Like the Saint, he describes the life and passion of Christ, not merely as " the door whereby we enter the contemplative life," but as the only such door.[4] In another chapter, he outlines three methods of contemplation (giving the word here something of its later Ignatian sense [5]),

[1] Chap. 8 (*Ejerc.*, p. 26 ; *Trans.*, p. 47).

[2] Chap. 24 (*Ejerc.*, p. 93 ; *Trans.*, p. 127).

[3] The nature of this tendency may be partially gathered from what has been written above of representative religious writings of the time (pp. 4–7). I hope to treat the subject *in extenso* in a future volume.

[4] Chap. 48 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 173–4 ; *Trans.*, p. 222).

[5] On the meanings given by Cisneros to the word " contemplation," see chap. 48. It is a little misleading to say, with Dom Besse (Bibl., No. 1037), p. 40, that Cisneros terms the application of the soul to the truths of the faith " meditation," and to the mysteries of the life of the Saviour " contemplation."

all based on the life of Christ[1]: with this are concerned the eleven chapters next following. And in the course of these chapters we read that "the passion of the Lord contains within itself all the perfection possible to man in this life."[2]

It must be admitted freely that not all Cisneros' teaching in this matter is proof against accusations of inconsistency, which the Spanish preceptists and systematizers of a hundred and fifty years later would no doubt have brought against him had they preoccupied themselves with the earliest mystics of their own country. But the inconsistencies spring largely from this, that the second part of the *Book of Exercises*, unlike the first, is based upon the authority of others.

A further characteristic of García de Cisneros' mysticism is the very small place which it gives to the supernatural. In spite of his description of the soul as being passive and receptive in the higher states of contemplation, he says next to nothing about any such preparation for the work of God upon the soul as the Prayer of Quiet. "Affection of love reigns here alone," he declares, "and neither sense nor understanding has any part herein."[3] Yet, though after making this statement he details his six degrees of higher prayer, he fills most of the chapters which follow with meditations suited to those who are still in the lower states of prayer. This again may be called inconsistency, but is really another consequence of the aim of the author and of the circumstances and the epoch in which he wrote.

On supernormal experiences he adopts a conservative attitude which appears to be one of scepticism, or possibly of ignorance, rather than only of caution. The rapture (*arrebatamiento*) of the contemplative soul is compared with the preoccupation of students "when they are engaged in composing some subtle thing, and likewise painters, and others who work subtly, and exercise their imaginings strongly."[4] "It may be a

[1] Chap. 49. [2] Chap. 56.
[3] Chap. 28 (*Ejerc.*, p. 121; *Trans.*, p. 160).
[4] Chap. 45 (*Ejerc.*, p. 164; *Trans.*, p. 211).

harder and more laborious task" that occupies the contemplative than the student, but essentially they are similar in nature. Examples, says Cisneros, such as those of the student and the painter, have been quoted in order to demonstrate "that the soul can cast out all imaginings and cares which profit it not, and rise and soar aloft to other things which are holier and more profitable."[1] A later mystic might object that these examples prove very little of what the contemplative's experience teaches him. But, Cisneros has said at the beginning of the chapter under discussion, we must only understand the phenomena of rapture in a figurative sense: the soul does not really leave the body at all.[2]

Only after reading Richard of St. Victor does Cisneros allow himself to write in a way from which more can be inferred than this. One part, or aspect, of contemplation he then names (following his authority) *Mentis alienatio*, "which comes to pass when the soul sees things to which its natural industry suffices not to raise it. In these visions the soul goes out of itself, and out of the wonted judgment of its understanding. It knows not where it is, nor what it is, nor whether it is in the body or out of the body. And this is also called rapture."[3] This "ecstasy or rapture of the spirit comes to pass within us, either through excess of devotion, which arises from an exceeding great desire or love for the Lord, or through marvelling greatly at something that appears most high and wonderful, or again through an exceeding great delight or joy in that which is received within us through the especial grace of the Lord."[4]

In another place, where Cisneros sets rapture as the sixth, and, normally, the highest state of the contemplative life (corresponding to the goal of the Unitive Way), he deprecates, as do so many of his successors later, the attaching of an excessive importance to visions. Rapture "requires not that a man see visions or indeed aught

[1] Chap. 45 (*Ejerc.*, p. 165; *Trans.*, p. 212).
[2] Chap. 45 (*Ejerc.*, p. 163; *Trans.*, p. 210).
[3] Chap. 48 (*Ejerc.*, p. 172; *Trans.*, p. 220–1).
[4] Chap. 48 (*Ejerc.*, p. 173; *Trans.*, p. 221).

else with his bodily eyes, but rather that he may be illumined and enkindled and refreshed and raised on high through the love which he has for his Creator." [1] The nature of rapture is ineffable, and "such that our understanding, being burdened by the flesh, cannot for a long time remain securely therein, but is scarcely raised aloft when it falls again to the ground as though it were chained to the earth."

> Or it is as the eye which looks upon the sun, and cannot gaze thereon fixedly, but after a single glance is forced to close itself, then looks again and forthwith closes once more : even so is it with the understanding. Or, again, it is like an arrow shot upwards, which falls quickly to the ground by reason of its own weight, or like the fish which leaps out of the water, and falls back into it immediately. Even so, as we understand it, is this degree of love.[2]

It follows from all that has been said that on the whole García de Cisneros presents a comparatively low standard of attainment in the life of mental prayer. He frequently uses the word "perfect" where it is manifestly inapplicable in the literal sense, and he frequently reminds us also of the impossibility of literal perfection.[3] His oft-repeated definition of his aim as being "union with God" he leaves insufficiently explained, giving us little idea, therefore, of the nature of this union, and even, as we have seen, shrinking from a description of it.[4] He himself admits the unsatisfactoriness of his definition : "it may nevertheless be added, in the words of Gerson, that this same end [the love of God] is, and should be, that of all our works, for all that we do must be done and ordered for the love of God." [5] But, though it is "fitting to explain in some manner wherein consists the perfection of the contemplative life," he feels himself totally incapable of doing so. "I must here set down

[1] Chap. 30 (*Ejerc.*, p. 131 ; *Trans.*, p. 170). [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ejerc.*, pp. 132–3 ; *Trans.*, pp. 171–2.

[4] "De lo cual hablar me reputo indigno, dejándolo para los muy grandes doctores" (chap. 66 : *Ejerc.*, p. 251 ; *Trans.*, p. 311).

[5] Chap. 37 (*Ejerc.*, p. 147 ; *Trans.*, p. 192).

certain conditions of the contemplative life, not that I have myself sufficient knowledge thereof, but rather as a blind man speaking of colours, repeating such things as the saints in their writings have left us, and leaving the rest to those who are more expert in these matters." [1] Needless to say, his description leaves the reader as ignorant, or as perplexed, as before.

Of the remaining ideas in the *Book of Exercises*, we find some which are common to most of the mystics. That humility is the foundation of all progress [2] is with all of them axiomatic, and that one may rise to know the Creator through His creatures [3] is hardly less so. That all are capable of mental prayer, as Cisneros maintains,[4] is a thesis which sharply divides Spanish mystics at a later date. That those without understanding can still play their part in it through love [5] goes also to the root of our definition of contemplation. There are frequent comparisons in the *Exercises* of the active with the contemplative life [6]; the general trend of these is less to exalt the latter than to ennoble the former—a tendency which confirms the view that Cisneros was writing with an eye to the least practised in contemplation of his monks. It may be of interest to point out that he upholds the mistaken idea, so prevalent in modern times, that "contemplatives are less wise and prudent in worldly affairs than actives." [7] He himself, as his life-story shows, was a living refutation of his own dictum.

V

The mystic on whom García de Cisneros is commonly said to have exercised the greatest influence is St. Ignatius of Loyola, of whom we have written at some

[1] Chap. 37 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 147–8; *Trans.*, p. 192).
[2] Chap. 31 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 134–5; *Trans.*, pp. 176–7).
[3] Chap. 29 (*Ejerc.*, p. 125; *Trans.*, p. 164).
[4] Chap. 67 (*Ejerc.*, p. 252; *Trans.*, pp. 312–13).
[5] Chaps. 29, 31 (*Ejerc.*, pp. 124, 134–5; *Trans.*, pp. 163, 176).
[6] Chaps. 36, 42, 43, 68, *passim*.
[7] Chap. 43 (*Ejerc.*, p. 160; *Trans.*, p. 207).

length in our first volume. To what is there said may be added the following considerations, which summarize the probable relations between the two mystics most generally associated with Montserrat.

The internal evidence brought forward in support of Cisneros' alleged influence upon St. Ignatius seems to us less impressive than the external. Whether we look at it with Dom Besse [1] and P. Watrigant,[2] who consider it satisfactory, or with P. Codina,[3] who takes the opposite view, we cannot help feeling that in a purely literary controversy it would be regarded as quite inconclusive.[4] It is not that there are no similarities—even occasional verbal similarities—between García de Cisneros and St. Ignatius, but rather that they either relate to most ordinary themes, treated in every book of devotion,[5] or that they are as likely to have come direct from one or another of Cisneros' own authorities as from Cisneros himself.[6] To the first class of parallelism belong the not dissimilarly phrased references to the fall of the angels and of man,[7] to the pains of hell,[8] to the last judgment,[9] to servile and filial fear [10] and to the use of meditation, prayer and contemplation.[11] In the second class we place resemblances in St. Ignatius to four paragraphs which Cisneros took from the *Alphabet of Divine Love*.[12] Other of the alleged similarities are too little alike to be considered seriously.[13]

One would not, however, look for many verbal

[1] Bibl., No. 1037. [2] Bibl., No. 1049, 1050.

[3] Bibl., No. 1040.

[4] As P. Watrigant puts it: "Nous sommes convaincu que le saint a eu entre les mains l'écrit de Cisneros. Mais on a singulièrement exagéré l'influence qu'il en aurait reçue" (p. 529).

[5] *Cf.* Besse, p. 40: "L'un et l'autre envisagent Jésus-Christ comme le chemin qui mène à la connaissance et à l'amour de Dieu."

[6] *Cf.* Groult, p. 98. For the actual parallel passages, see *Exercitia Spiritualia* (Bibl., No. 103), pp. 104–20; Besse, pp. 40–5; Codina, pp. 265–83.

[7] *Exercitia*, pp. 107–8; Besse, pp. 41–2; Codina, pp. 268–9.

[8] *Exercitia*, pp. 108–10; Besse, p. 42; Codina, pp. 269–72.

[9] *Exercitia*, p. 111; Besse, p. 42; Codina, pp. 273–4.

[10] *Exercitia*, pp. 119–20; Watrigant, Sup., p. 150; Codina, p. 283.

[11] *Exercitia, passim*; Codina, p. 281.

[12] Besse, pp. 40, 41, 42, 43; Codina, pp. 268, 266, 267, 274–5.

[13] E.g. *Exercitia*, pp. 119–20; Besse, p. 43; Codina, p. 272.

parallels in two books having such different aims,[1] and composed by two men so dissimilar in type,[2] especially since St. Ignatius' exercises, as we have them, were the fruits of many years' revision, during which they may have changed their form a hundred times.[3] What convinces us of the deep and varied influence upon St. Ignatius of García de Cisneros and of the Abbey of Montserrat (which was permeated with its late Abbot's spirit when he visited it) is the purely external evidence. The documentary testimony of two independent witnesses, dating from the end of the sixteenth century, assures us that St. Ignatius' first instructor, the French Benedictine Dom Jean Chanones,[4] " gave him the spiritual exercises of Cisneros." [5] From the episode of the Moor,[6] and other testimony,[7] we know that when St. Ignatius went to Montserrat he was sadly ignorant of many principles of the Christian religion. We know that he was " given " Cisneros' exercises there ; that, after staying for as long as pilgrims were at that time permitted to stay, he postponed the projected journey to Jerusalem which had brought him that way, went only so far from the sanctuary as the nearest town of Manresa,[8] and returned thence to Montserrat at intervals to report to Dom Chanones his progress in the exercises.[9] It seems likely that he actually read a copy of Cisneros' book at Montserrat or even took one with him to Manresa.[10] In any case, it is certain that at the most impressionable period in his life he spent a great part of his time in practising Cisneros' exercises. Compared with the fundamental inference which can safely be drawn from such

[1] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 11, n. 4, 13 ; cf. *Ejerc.*, p. xvii ; Codina, pp. 173–4 ; Besse, pp. 38–40.

[2] *Cf.* Yepes, vol. iv, pp. 237–8.

[3] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 12–13.

[4] Yepes, vol. iv, p. 246.

[5] *Cit.* Codina, p. 169.

[6] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 5–6.

[7] Besse, p. 39.

[8] Ribadeneira, chap. 4.

[9] *Monumenta Ignatiana* (Bibl., No. 172), series quarta, tomus secundus, Madrid, 1918, pp. 385 ff. *Cf.* Yepes, vol. iv, pp. 235 ff.

[10] P. Godofredo, *cit.* Codina, pp. 170–1. *Cf.* pp. 171–2, and Ribadeneira, *cit.* Yepes, vol. iv, pp. 237–8. P. Codina, even though considering the evidence of P. Godofredo insufficient, believes that St. Ignatius did read Cisneros at Montserrat.

testimony, the possible reasons for similarities between this and that passage of St. Ignatius' work as we have it to-day and the *Book of Exercises* are relatively insignificant. The fundamental inference is that Cisneros and Montserrat were the first great forces to mould his future life. As Ribadeneira says, while asserting that "these two books are different, and the second was not taken from the first,"

> All we who are of the Society must give thanks to our Lord that our blessed father, when he left the storms and tempests of the world, made so good a haven, that he found so good a confessor and profited by so good a book.[1]

If, as seems likely, St. Ignatius first drafted his *Spiritual Exercises* at Manresa,[2] there must have been many more similarities to Cisneros' *Exercises* in this draft than in their final form. It is clearly exaggerating to state, as did Bucelin, Wion and the pseudo-Cayetano in the seventeenth century, that St. Ignatius' *Exercises* are either "wholly" or "in great part" "taken" from Cisneros.[3] Such words, or the claim of P. Bruno Albers, made as lately as 1917, that "the Jesuits owe their origin and their *Exercises* to the Benedictine Order" and that St. Ignatius "slightly modified Cisneros' *Exercises* and in this modified form gave them to his followers"[4] merely provoke retaliations more plausible and of no greater value.[5] No sensible and unprejudiced investigator will doubt that St. Ignatius' debt to Cisneros goes far beyond what any internal evidence can reveal to us. Even were there not a single verbal similarity to show, the formative influence of the book would still be indisputable, just as, even if there were a hundred such similarities, the essential

[1] *Cit.* Yepes, vol. iv, pp. 237–8.

[2] Ribadeneira thinks he did, Yepes thinks not (Yepes, vol. iv, pp. 236 ff.).

[3] These were the words which they used (*cf.* Besse, p. 45; Watrigant, pp. 204–6; Codina, p. 168 n.). Wion even attributed to García de Cisneros, "omnem suae religionis [*sc.* Societatis Jesu] perfectionem meditandique methodum"!

[4] Albers, p. 32.

[5] They are taken up in *Exercitia spiritualia*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 94–123, and conclusions, of a somewhat extreme kind, are drawn from a study of the evidence (pp. 120–1). *Cf.* also Besse, pp. 46–7.

originality of St. Ignatius' book would be equally so. Whether the initial inspiration of St. Ignatius' *Exercises*, and their title, derived also, as some have thought, from Cisneros, are questions on which only speculation is practicable.

VI

To estimate the influence of Cisneros' *Book of Exercises*, above all during the century on the eve of which it was issued, is no light task. That it was widely read, and not only in Benedictine communities, its bibliography alone will show. Five editions in Spanish, and seven in Latin, were current during the sixteenth century.[1] In Latin, the book went on reprinting to the extent that seven further editions have been issued since 1600.[2] Of extant translations, many of them quite modern, there are three in Italian, two in French, two in English, one in Catalan and one in German.[3]

But even this creditable list does not exhaust the evidence for the book's popularity. For there were made at least three adaptations of it. One of these, published in Latin, at Salzburg, in 1629, aimed at clarifying Cisneros' occasional prolixity of expression.[4] Another, in Spanish, published in 1672 at Salamanca, is a Benedictine manual of mystical theology, which draws upon other authors also.[5] The third, and earliest, had its origin nearer home, and can claim a history almost as long as that of its original. Entitled *A Brief Compendium of Spiritual Exercises*, it contains, together with Cisneros' *Directory*, the more popular parts of his *Book of Exercises*—the three series of meditations, the summary of the life of Christ, the meditation on Christ's passion and death, advice for those unpractised in prayer, and like excerpts. The compiler's aim seems to have been to simplify as much as possible, to omit the passages least easily and generally comprehended, and in

[1] Bibl., Nos. 981–5, 990–6.
[2] Bibl., Nos. 997–1003.
[3] Bibl., Nos. 1021–31.
[4] Bibl., No. 1018.
[5] Bibl., No. 1017.

particular to suppress references to the highest states of prayer, upon which other and fuller treatises were then (*c.* 1555) being written.

Of this *Compendium* there are known no less than thirteen editions, all in Spanish, covering a period of about one hundred and sixty years, and ending in the early eighteenth century.[1] They ceased only when, the teaching of Cisneros being judged by the Benedictine authorities of the Valladolid congregation to be too lofty for general use, they were superseded by a manual considered more practical. Dom Anselm Albareda believes that many more editions were published, dating probably as far back as 1520,[2] but if we assume not a single edition more, we can still record the publication, in Spanish or in Latin, of one edition, on the average, of the *Book of Exercises* or one of its adaptations in every eight years during the two centuries (1500–1700) in which mysticism flourished in Spain.

A book published anonymously, having a practical and restricted aim, and bearing in its colophon the over-modest pretension of being a "compilation," could hardly have hoped for a wider influence than this. Nor could it have hoped for a career of such distinction. The most notable example of the influence of Cisneros upon those who came after him is undoubtedly that to which we have referred, upon St. Ignatius of Loyola. But many other similar cases of his influence, upon less famous men, might be cited also, could we but trace the fate of all these editions and translations. Some of them may well come to light with the publication of a history of Spanish mysticism. And it must not be forgotten that, just as the *Book of Exercises* was written simply and solely for the group of monks at Montserrat [3] and a not much wider circle of monks outside it, so the place where its influence has been strongest is precisely within those circles. The ascetic and mystical school which García

[1] Cf. *Ejerc.*, pp. xxii–xxiii; Albareda, *Bibliografía*, etc., pp. 110–11.

[2] *Bibliografía*, etc., pp. 111–12.

[3] Yepes (vol. iv, p. 237) calls it the "leche y sustento de los novicios de Montserrat."

de Cisneros founded at Montserrat has descendants, it is true, of no mean merit—Alfonso de Vizcaya,[1] Pedro Alfonso [2] and José de San Benito.[3] But its strongest claim on Christian remembrance lies not so much in the history of those venerated names as in the influence which it has wielded upon thousands of unremembered spiritual lives, and which it wields as firmly as ever to-day.

[1] Albareda, *Bibliografía*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1033), pp. 145–6.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–40.
[3] E. Allison Peers: "Fra Josef of Montserrat." In *Dublin Review*, 1928, No. 366, pp. 36–54.

CHAPTER II

AN EXPONENT OF "QUIET": BERNARDINO DE LAREDO

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I

Before the Carmelite saints infused into Spanish mysticism the life-blood of their own ineffable experience, it had a history of more than half a century, during which, like any other vital organism, it naturally underwent many changes. The important *rôle* in mental prayer given by early derivative writers such as García de Cisneros to the study of the life of Christ, out of which one branch of the distinctive mysticism of Spain may be said to have grown, in no way diminished during this period, but on the contrary received even greater emphasis. But little heed, on the other hand, was paid to the systematization of the Mystic Way, till this was undertaken, upon the basis of their own experience, by St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. It is doubtful if any scheme of progress more practical than Cisneros' very imperfect one was evolved in Spain before St. Teresa, and, as we have seen, some of the best known of the earlier writers, like Francisco de Osuna and Luis de Granada,[1] did not describe the stages of the Mystic Way at all.

The history of this pre-Carmelite period is chiefly notable for the addition of a number of new elements to the current presentation of the subject, the most significant of which is that generally said to have been introduced into the mystical literature of Spain by Francisco de Osuna—the element of Quiet. In a future volume we shall discuss the importance of this and the way in which it cleared the path for the emergence of the supernatural side of mystical teaching. Here we have to study the work of a writer who, with Osuna, may be considered as the co-sponsor in Spain of Quiet : Bernardino de Laredo.

Chronologically, it might be supposed that Laredo

[1] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 33–131.

is indebted to Osuna, since his sole mystical work was published eight years later than the *Third Spiritual Alphabet*. But even the chronology of these treatises, as we shall see, is less simple than it might appear, and there is no evidence that Laredo knew anything of Osuna—indeed the presumption, though both were of the same religious order, is rather to the contrary. Nor have we found any internal evidence of Laredo's having studied Osuna, their modes of expression being distinctly dissimilar. The two authors may therefore be fairly considered as independent of one another and as notable both for the concurrence of their ideas and for the direct influence which they exerted on St. Teresa.

So little is known of the life of Bernardino de Laredo that its essential outline can be sketched in a few words. Born at Seville, in 1482, of a well-connected family, he embraced the career of medicine, and, probably after studying at Paris,[1] graduated as a Doctor of Medicine at Seville University. Though he seems never to have lost interest in his original profession (he wrote treatises on medicine when over fifty) he abandoned it at the age of twenty-eight, and, after having taken a theological course, also at Seville, entered the religious life (1510) as a lay brother in the Franciscan convent of San Francisco del Monte, four leagues from Seville. A lay brother he remained, acting as apothecary to the friars in his convent,[2] and, had he not written the *Ascent of Mount Sion*, a mystical treatise which went into a number of editions and was used and quoted by St. Teresa and others, he would doubtless have been forgotten by posterity. The fact that he published the *Ascent* anonymously suggests that the prospect of such oblivion would in no way have

[1] The very plausible conjecture is that of P. Michel-Ange (*Traité*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1064), p. v). Laredo may not, however, have studied medicine at Paris, for both internal and external evidence demonstrate that he also knew Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

[2] So a note in MS. in the copy of the *Metáfora de medicina y cirugía* to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, testifies. Nicolás Antonio says that Laredo was at some time physician to John II of Portugal; there is no very reliable evidence for this statement, but it is made by a number of writers, some of them approximately Laredo's contemporaries. I am, however, inclined to suspect it.

dismayed him—indeed, that it would have been his wish.

We need spend but little time on Laredo's two medical books—one written in Spanish (*Metafora Medicinae*, or *Metáfora de medicina y cirugía*, 1522 [1]) and the other in Latin (*Modus faciendi cum ordine medicandi*, ? 1527 [2]). Both are of a practical nature, especially the former, which gives copious advice to those who have the care of invalids. It discusses the use, in the sick-room, of wine, fruits, vegetables, meat and bread ; the properties of simple medicines and ways of administering them ; common ailments, such as headache, insomnia, nose-bleeding, toothache and " pleurisy, which is a pain in the side " ; and elementary surgery, including the treatment of boils and ulcers. At the end of the book comes a chapter which the pious apothecary terms " singular " and which proves to be on religion. But in reality the whole book is in the truest sense religious, not so much because it has (to quote its prologue) five parts " in reverence for the most cruel wounds of Christ our Redeemer " as because, without entering into detail upon the relations between the ills of the body and of the soul, the author clearly considers religion and medicine as complementary means of healing.

The *Ascent of Mount Sion*, with which the rest of this chapter will be concerned, was written, about 1529,[3] for religious,[4] and first published, anonymously, in the " most noble and most loyal city of Seville," six years later, being dedicated to the Cardinal Archbishop by " the least and the most unworthy of his friars minor." [5] It is one of the most attractive works in the entire history of Spanish mysticism. The engaging personality of the author, " who for his humility would not make known his name," [6] emerges in it ever and anon, but for so short

[1] Bibl., No. 1052.

[2] Bibl., No. 1061, where the question of date is discussed.

[3] *Cf.* ed. 1617, fol. iv. : " Cuando esta obra se imprimió habían pasado seis años sobre ella."

[4] *Op. cit. Notable.* [5] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, p. 90, n. 3.

[6] *Cf.* ed. 1617, title-page. References to the *Subida del Monte Sion* are, except where otherwise stated, given throughout this chapter to the 1542 edition, as being the most readily accessible to English readers.

a time that one is impelled to dive more deeply into the book in the hope of discovering more about him. The ideals which he holds up to his readers, the large place which he gives to the practice of quietness, and the spirituality of his meditations all draw him closer to the thoughtful Christian of to-day.

Anonymous the book remained, in its succeeding editions, until the edition of Alcalá appeared in 1617, when, on the testimony of the "fourth part of the chronicles of the [Franciscan] order," the name of "Bernardino de Laredo, lay friar of the province of Los Ángeles of the order of the holy father Saint Francis," was added as that of its author.[1] Since that time the humble apothecary has received his due.

The general plan of the *Ascent of Mount Sion* is admirably clear and follows the lines laid down on the title-page. "It contains the knowledge of ourselves," runs the sub-title, "and the following of Christ and the reverencing of God in quiet contemplation."[2] These three themes correspond to the three divisions of the treatise, which will be discussed in the next two sections. To the third is appended an "Extravagante," consisting of twelve spiritual letters and "a brief treatise" (called the *Josephina* and modelled on Gerson's poem of the same title) "written for the instruction and inspiration of those who desire to venerate the most glorious patriarch Saint Joseph."[3] Such devotion had been Laredo's at least from the time of his entering San Francisco del Monte, as he himself tells us.[4] As for his knowledge of Gerson, we may at least ask the question, even if we cannot answer it: Did he learn to appreciate him at Paris?

After three editions of the *Ascent* had appeared in

[1] Bibl., No. 1060, below.

[2] Cf. *Subida*, ed. 1542, chap. 3 (fol. 5v.): "Busque pues su propio conocimiento el hombre que desea seguir a Cristo en la cruz, y después pase a la contemplación de remansada quietud."

[3] *Subida*, ed. cit., fol. 201r.

[4] *Josephina*, Párrafo 2 (*Subida*, ed. cit., fol. 202v.): "Si me quisieren decir que en más que veinte y cinco años que yo ando con San José no se conoce esto en mí. . . ."

Seville (1535, 1538, 1540), the reputation of the book began to travel northwards. A so-called "second impression" was published at Medina del Campo in 1542, revised and remodelled by the author, who presumably had travelled northward also. In this 1542 impression—to use the publisher's words—"are explained many things which are patent of explanation, and the parts that aforetime were in Latin are now turned into the vernacular." The third and most important section of the treatise "is newly ordered, and changed all but entirely into greater intimacy of love and greater liberty of spirit." In addition, some "verses of love" quoted below[1] are "glossed" for the benefit of the simple reader, a part of the book is moved from the second section to the third, and there are made a few minor changes of detail. We cannot say with absolute certainty that this extensive refashioning was the work of Laredo himself, but it would probably have been described as the work of another hand had it been so. A later edition, published at Valencia in 1590, did incorporate a few "corrections," and, though these are of little significance, we find that the maker of them is named. Hence it is reasonable to take the 1542 edition as being the best and most authoritative.

After the publication of the Alcalá edition of 1617, the *Ascent of Mount Sion* was not again reprinted, and would seem to have died out of the mystical tradition in Spain till modern scholarship revived it. But, before disappearing, it influenced other writers than St. Teresa, and it has an important position, if one that has been overlooked, in the history of Spanish quietism.

From the literary standpoint the *Ascent* can hardly be regarded as a masterpiece. Its style has the merit of being unaffected and conversational, but is loaded with repetitions, and made monotonous by long concatenations of co-ordinate clauses. Against its few good and apt figures may be set many weak or over-developed ones. No preacher of any merit would have spoiled his Biblical similitudes, as Laredo does, by overmuch insistence upon

[1] P. 69, below.

them, or used *ejemplos* in so singularly wooden a manner. His only literary achievement is that he manages to make his personality very real to his readers. Though his anecdotes have now lost most of their force they have an individual savour which, combined with the author's easy and natural style and his scattered autobiographical references, bring him out of the past into the present.

Who can resist, for example, the unaffected description of how, "not thirty days ago," he performed a "certain little action which had some colour of virtue," how in his presence it was attributed to another, and how he found a way of making known that it had been done by himself?[1] Or the somewhat prolix account of his becoming a total abstainer, beginning: "Since the first day that I left off drinking wine, I never once returned to it, whether in good health or in bad, on short journeys or on travels of hundreds of leagues"?[2] Or the anecdote of his dumb friend who was so much struck with the *objets d'art* in the house of a person whom he visited that he could not be persuaded to go upstairs to transact his business until he had examined them all thoroughly?[3] Nor can we help being attracted by the good apothecary's expositions of topics carefully chosen from natural science: the topics may themselves be elementary, but his discourses upon them can invariably be described as of "much subtlety."[4]

Whether or no Laredo was himself in Medina when he prepared the revised edition of his book, it was in his Sevilian convent of San Francisco del Monte that he died in 1540, two years before its publication.[5] In spite of his lowly station in the Order, he appears to have attained to a position commanding considerable respect, and this not only on account of his writings, but even before their

[1] *Subida*, ed. 1542, fol. 6r. Subsequent footnote references in this chapter may be taken as relating to the 1542 edition of the *Subida* where not otherwise stated.

[2] Fol. 47v. [3] Fol. 174r. [4] Fol. 18v.

[5] The chief source for this date is the rather uncertain manuscript note referred to above (p. 42, n. 2). The only alternative date put forward has been that of 1545, which Nicolás Antonio adopts. The former, and I think the more credible one, is generally followed.

publication. At the end of his *Josephina* he relates how he petitioned the " Cardinal of Santa Cruz, our general " to make the feast of St. Joseph a greater double, which was done in the Chapter General of 1524, at Burgos ; and how, since 1530, again at his request, the festival has, in the arch-diocese of Seville, been conceded more importance still.[1] But not a trace of self-esteem or conceit can be found in any of his writings, and, when we think of him, it is not as the friend or the correspondent of a Cardinal-Archbishop, but, to repeat his own words, as " the least and the most unworthy of his friars minor."

II

The first two sections of the *Ascent of Mount Sion*, with their eighty-nine chapters, are of much less significance than the forty-two chapters of the third and final section, which we shall study subsequently. The earlier sections treat of the Purgative and Illuminative Ways, as understood by Laredo, while the third section embodies his idea of the Unitive Way. We may first of all quote his somewhat unusual, and certainly incomplete description of these stages :

> That it may come hither and rest within itself, with its sweet God alone, the soul has need of three beds, or three places wherein it may repose. The first of these is of dust which it is led to shake off from itself, and this is self-esteem. The second is of thorns, and moves it to strenuous effort : this is the following of Christ. The third is of roses, whereby is signified to the soul the quiet of the Divine greatness.[2]

We cannot but remark, in passing, upon the contrast between the passivity implied in the metaphors of the first sentence and the energetic similitudes of the two sentences following. But it is sufficient to add, before proceeding farther, that these three stages are represented in the three parts of the book.

In the first part the soul has to have done with itself. In the

[1] *Josephina*, Párrafo 24 (*Subida*, fol. 205v.). *Cf.* P. Michel-Ange's historical note in *Traité*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1064), p. 116 n.

[2] Fol. 11v.

second part it must be afoot with Christ. In the third, it reposes with its sweetest God.[1]

The first section, though dealing primarily with self-knowledge, begins with some general remarks upon the contemplative life, figured by the ascent of Mount Sion, which lies "on the sides of the north, the city of the great King," and is far removed "from this tempestuous life."[2] He who "walks perseveringly and labours discreetly" in the way of contemplation need have no doubt that he will "obtain of the Divine clemency more good things and more riches than he could desire." But it is absolutely requisite for the soul that will attain to such an end to practise for a long time ascetic exercises. Just as a child, before taking any other food, sucks the breast, so the soul must "suck milk at the breasts of mental prayer" in order to grow strong: neither the child nor the soul can afford to fast for days together.[3]

The first ten chapters, which precede an exposition of the exercises of the Purgative Way, are introductory to the whole treatise and somewhat discursive. The author first holds up the contemplative's ideals: enjoyment of God as the goal of this earthly life, love of God as the soul's impelling force, and contemplation as the soul's true food.[4] For all kinds of contemplation, humility and "negation" (*i.e.* of the self) are necessary conditions.[5] Though his book is written mainly for religious, Laredo insists that neither celibacy nor the cloister is an essential for "reaching God."[6] For the first year or two the aspirant must not try to soar very high. There is a place for the beginner and another for the proficient: "let not the lay brother seek to be a guardian," as Laredo says elsewhere, "nor the guardian a lay brother."[7] He must "enter within himself and remain in himself," and rise through meditation upon the creatures to such knowledge of the Creator as they can give him.[8]

[1] Fol. 11v. [2] Notable. [3] Presupuesto 1°.
[4] Bk. i, chaps. 1, 2 (fols. 4r., 4v.). [5] Bk. i, chaps. 3, 4.
[6] Bk. i, chap. 4 (fol. 7r.). [7] Bk. i, chap. 22 (fol. 30v.).
[8] On the limitations of such exercises, *cf.* bk. i, chaps. 44, 45, *passim.*

Learn to know God always in all the creatures, beginning at the first with those that are smallest, with a lentil or an ant, or with a rod or a brick, knowing that there is no creature, however small, that points not the way to God.[1]

And, if we ask how a brick can furnish a subject for meditation, this mystic, who is also a student of science, can tell us :

When thou seest a brick, know that its basis consists in earth and water ; and of these elements art thou made likewise. Mud are ye both, and thou art the viler of the two, for the viler is thy corruption. And if the brick be made with fire, this, too, is an element of thine, and the brick has this advantage, that even if it be destroyed it remains in its very substance. . . . Whereas thou, when thou art destroyed, dost pass into such corruption that there is none who desires thee.[2]

Yet this meditation on the creatures, or " scholastic contemplation," [3] must not lead the aspirant to union with God into creature-love : on the contrary, he must be as far withdrawn from the creatures as is possible, his ideal being not " scholastic " contemplation but " mystical." [4] " Will and understanding " are the " eyes of the soul." With the understanding the soul looks at the creatures and sees in them the Creator. With the will the soul looks at God and sees nothing created.[5] The distinction is made later in the book, but to cite it is relevant here.

The next chapters enter upon the subject of progress. A " staircase " of seventeen steps which leads to God is described. The first five comprise the keeping of a watch over the tongue ; the next five, vigilance over the whole man ; the next four steps are for the ordering of the soul. Then come the three steps of self-knowledge, imitation of Christ and the raising of the spirit on high which are the main theme of the book. After some counsels to beginners which are comparatively elementary we enter on the exercises of self-knowledge.

[1] Bk. i, chap. 4 (fol. 7r.). [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Bk. iii, chap. 23 (fol. 142v.).
[4] Bk. i, chap. 10 (fol. 11r.). *Cf.* bk. iii, chap. 23 (fol. 142v.).
[5] Bk. iii, chap. 12 (fol. 131r.).

These exercises are based on six questions, one of which is to be taken as a subject of meditation daily, in turn, from Monday to Saturday, the process to be repeated, with variations, for three weeks. In their original Spanish, the questions, with their answers, form a verse with a single rhyme, in which Laredo no doubt embodied them because of its mnemonic value.[1] They are : Who am I ? Whence came I ? How have I come ? Where am I ? Whither go I ? What do I bear ?

On Sunday the exercitant is instructed not to embrace any given subject of meditation, but to rest the mind and allow it to dwell on any edifying subject that it will. It may be remarked here that throughout his book Laredo shows great tolerance with those who find set exercises difficult. He understands human nature unusually well, and, in giving his exercitants full freedom to depart from the scheme he has laid down, uses an illustration from his sick-room experience. " We allow a sick man five grapes," he writes, " but give him a whole bunch that he may choose from it those he wishes ; and because we leave them all with him he is stimulated into eating as he would never be if we gave him five only." [2]

Laredo stands apart from contemporary fashioners of spiritual exercises, not only in prescribing no exercises for Sunday, but also in his insistence on the value of quietness even at this early stage in the contemplative's progress. This latter characteristic is emphasized by Laredo's use of the traditional figurative language of mysticism in what is evidently a non-mystical sense. The soul is described, for example, as being (on the Lord's day) " betrothed (*desposada*) to Christ, its sweet Spouse, even as a bride that is most restful and tranquil." [3]

[1] ¿ Quién soy ? Tierra y harto astrosa.
¿ De quién vengo ? De la tierra arenosa.
¿ De dónde he venido ? Por la tierra bien fragosa.
¿ En dónde estoy ? En la tierra peligrosa.
¿ A dónde voy ? A la tierra temerosa [*var.* cenagosa].
¿ Qué llevo ? Una gran carga de tierra cenagosa.
(Bk. i, chaps. 11–17. Cf. Notable, above.)

[2] Presupuesto 1º (fol. 1v.).

[3] Bk. i, chap. 21 (fol. 28r.).

Or again : " It is impossible that the soul that is quiet in prayer shall not be in the presence of God." [1]

The exercises for the second and third weeks are less well arranged than those for the first week. They deal, the one with vigilance as to speech, charity, tranquillity, recollection, obedience and patience, the other with our sinful nature and our indebtedness to God in all things. The final chapters are a defence of ascetic practices, in which Laredo is a firm believer, at least for persons who, like himself, enjoy good health. " I speak not of feeble frames, but of the robust, such as God has made me to be, of His great mercy." [2] He can testify as a physician to the excellent effects of fasting, which " frees the stomach from every kind of indigestion." [3] He qualifies his recommendation only with the warning that fasting must never interfere with three things—charity, obedience and prayer—just as prayer itself must never conflict with obedience or charity.[4] " May God never grant me prayer," he says elsewhere, " that turns me from charity or obedience." [5]

The most important of the chapters already described are those which treat of the state of the soul in recollection. Even at this early stage in the soul's progress, it would seem, there is a kind of prayer

which is entirely of God, and is recognized as being of Him ; wherefore it is entirely holy and good, and has within itself its own dwelling-place and rest, and is stilled in God. It roams not over many fields : it desires one thing and one alone, for one thing alone is needful.[6]

The soul, while still engaged in considering its own worthlessness, is aiming at being " continually recollected " and " ever within itself " : though unable as yet to soar, it is looking upwards, like the eagle in the familiar metaphor, towards the sun.

My God is an eagle, teaching His children to fly, and to look upwards at the bright Sun of Righteousness, namely, our Exemplar,

[1] Bk. i, chap. 21 (fol. 28r.).
[2] Bk. i, chap. 31 (fol. 41r.).
[3] *Ibid.* (fol. 41v.).
[4] *Ibid.* (fol. 43r.).
[5] Bk. i, chap. 23 (fol. 31r.).
[6] Bk. i, chap. 21 (fol. 29r.).

Christ. And the children of this eagle are contemplative souls, whose bodies are their nests.[1]

The second book of the *Ascent of Mount Sion* is less suitable for practical use than the first. As if realizing this, its author apologizes copiously in the prologue for its defects. At the beginning of the volume he had lamented his stupidity and ignorance, fearing to resemble "a crier who proclaims to the people that which his master commands him," though understanding little or nothing of it himself.[2] Now he accumulates epithets of dissatisfaction with his own attainments. How can a "miserable and stupid lay friar" speak of lofty matters when he has "so weak a foundation and so hard a heart"?[3] He is a worthless vessel, unfitted to hold contents which are precious; he fears lest, writing for others, he may himself be lacking in that of which he writes.[4] "I expend ink and paper," he cries, "upon abundance of words"[5] —and here he is right. Whatever his fitness, he sins through excessive facility. The theology of his second book is hard to follow, both because of the verbiage of its expression in general, and also because its metaphors have become more numerous and more sustained.

The aim of this book is to lead the aspirant from the Purgative to the Illuminative Way, from meditation on himself to meditation on the life of Christ. Laredo, like Cisneros, may be classed very definitely with those who place this subject in the forefront of the exercitant's practice. "The life of our most sweet Christ Jesus," he says at the outset of his work, "is doctor sufficient for us, and it is the most perfect school of all, which, more than any other doctrine, leads the soul to the lofty contemplation of incorporeal things and of its Creator." The soul that would arrive at the higher level of contemplation to be described hereafter must "for some

[1] Bk. i, chap. 21 (fol. 29r.). A similar metaphor, in bk. iii, chap. 17 (fol. 135r.), describes Our Lord as encouraging contemplative souls "para que miren la intensísima claridad de la sustancia infinita que sin ser de ella alumbradas es imposible por humana vía mirar con vista perseverante quietísima y unitiva."

[2] Presupuesto 2° (fol. 2r.).

[3] Bk. ii, prólogo (fol. 50v.).

[4] *Ibid.* (fol. 51r.).

[5] *Ibid.*

years" be rooted (*fundarse*) in the mysteries of the life of Christ,[1] and take them as his master. Fray Bernardino is quite certain of this, both from his own experience and from that of many contemplatives whom he has consulted before coming to his conclusion.[2] It is true that two men, "of praiseworthy life and lofty contemplation," have told him the contrary, and said that for such meditation one day in a week suffices. But, while he respects their opinion as coming from holy men, he adds that "between them, in many years, they have made but one single disciple,"—a fact which he takes as militating against their thesis and as bearing out his own.[3]

The book commences with the exposition of a highly developed and "most profitable" similitude of rivers flowing into the ocean, under which figure Laredo presents the ideals of the contemplative life. The soul is the river, flowing onward "till it be engulfed in the ocean wherein it has had its beginning"—that is to say, in God.[4] The river bursts through all obstacles that are set before it, or finds a way round them: "the soul that journeys to its God must do likewise, passing through fire and water."[5] Occasionally the river reaches quiet places (*remansos*) where it seems to cease flowing and to be completely still, yet in reality it is progressing all the time, as the tiny thread of water at the entrance and the issue of the *remanso* testifies. "Even so the soul, when it stills itself in that tranquil part of the journey which belongs to the will alone, is as one that does naught. Yet it ceases not to profit, as is manifest from the stream of increased desires that enter it." When at length the river reaches the ocean, it loses its identity entirely, and even its name, becoming nothing more than a part of the ocean. Does the similitude break down here, we ask at once, or is its interpretation pressed to the point of unorthodoxy? Neither the one nor the other, is the reply: it is merely touched very lightly:

> When the river arrives at the sea, it is received by the sea in such manner that it loses itself wholly, so that not even its name

[1] Bk. i, chap. 2 (fol. 5r.). [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* (fol. 5v.).
[4] Bk. ii, chap. 10 (fols. 62–3). [5] *Ibid.* (fol. 63r.).

remains to it, but it is engulfed in the ocean. And the soul that journeys to its God in like manner believes that it will reach Him and find itself at length engulfed in Him in such a way that it will no longer be able to speak of itself but will be wholly in God.[1]

The figure is next changed, and the soul becomes a boat which "is tossed about by the heaving waves" or "navigates the ocean in meditation." But after a time it "reaches the port of contemplation, persevering therein with great quietness, profitably but without labour." Having entered "its own country within its breast," it still "perseveres with great quietness"—the phrase is repeated—and the tempests which rage without cannot touch it.[2]

It will be seen that in these passages, as in others too numerous and too long to be quoted, Fray Bernardino is presenting to the aspirant an ideal which is both fuller and nobler than that set before him at the beginning of the first book. Though practically nothing is said of illumination, it is in effect the Illuminative Way that Laredo is describing. After some further preliminaries, which, with the comparisons already reproduced, fill twelve chapters, he gives directions for meditating profitably on the passion of Christ,[3] and then sets out a scheme of suitable meditations.[4] The method to be followed in practising them he describes in some detail, laying great stress on the necessity of vividness, concentration and persistence. "If thou thinkest on the scourging of Christ Jesus," he writes, "let thy heart be the column to which He was bound. If thou thinkest on the crowning with thorns, let thy heart be the seat whereon He was set, or the purple robe, and let there be in the crown no thorn that wounds thee not. . . . And

[1] Bk. ii, chap. 10 (fol. 63v.).

[2] Bk. ii, chap. 11 (fol. 64r.). For the word "contemplation," see pp. 56–7, below.

[3] Bk. ii, chap. 13.

[4] Monday: From the Agony in the Garden to the Trial before Caiaphas. Tuesday: to the Scourging. Wednesday: to the "Ecce Homo." Thursday: to the Fall with the Cross. Friday: to the Nailing to the Cross. Saturday: to the Burial. Sunday: to the Resurrection (*Notable*. Cf. bk. ii, chaps. 17–35).

if thou thinkest on the Cross, let thy heart be the stony ground wherein it was planted, and the tenderest and most inward part thereof the pit that was digged for it, in such wise that the blood which flowed down the wood of the Cross may lave thy hard substance." [1] Neither vividness nor concentration in meditation could require a severer test than this.

To take another example, when the contemplative sees a crucifix or an image, he is not to be content with seeing it in the usual, literal sense. He must put on the "spectacles of the understanding, and see it with the intellectual sight as clearly as with the physical." [2] To such intellectual sight (*vista mental*) there is no possible impediment. "It pierces walls, it pierces heaven and hell, and if the spectacles be good ones it sees God everywhere." [3]

One further remark must be made upon this second book of the *Ascent of Mount Sion*. The author is evidently careful to expound his whole subject by as easy stages as possible. We have seen how only gradually he places before his readers the full ideal which should be theirs, outlining it at first somewhat vaguely and later filling in the outline. He proceeds similarly in his description of the complete mystical life. The threefold division of it which he makes may be found, as we saw, in the very title of the *Ascent*. A passage from the first book, which we quoted, amplifies this considerably. A fuller description still of the three stages occurs in the fourteenth chapter of the second book. To the quotation of this we may conveniently preface some earlier descriptions which prepare the way for it.

The first stage, in Laredo's thought, is that of "self-knowledge" or "meditation on our misery," also frequently termed by him the "meditation of annihilation." His use of the word "annihilation" should be carefully studied, since at a later epoch it assumes a prominent place in the history of quietism. In his introductory scheme of ascetic exercises, the first week,

[1] Bk. ii, chap. 13 (fol. 73r.).
[2] *Ibid.* (fol. 73v.).
[3] Bk. ii, chap. 36 (fol. 95v.).

it is said, should be devoted to "annihilation": "it must be noted," run the directions, "that the time . . . assigned to annihilation is from the end of Matins until Prime."[1] "Patience and ready annihilation" are to be learned during the earliest meditations[2]—indeed, the whole aim of the first book, as expressed in its final words, is that "the new contemplative may begin by annihilation and self-knowledge."[3] It is by means of this "annihilation" that the soul is to "shake off the dust of its self-esteem"[4]: clearly it is the annihilation of the passions, which is the chief disciplinary achievement of the Way of Purgation.

So much is evident. Now comes the second Way, that which is to "move the soul to strenuous effort"[5] and consists principally in meditation on the life of Christ. In the chapter just referred to, Laredo contrasts with great care the first stage and the second:

> The meditation of our annihilation is by the way of enquiry and reasoning with the understanding, and the contemplation of the mysteries of Christ is and must of necessity be by enquiry with the understanding but also by receptivity of the will. So that the first must be sought from without—that is to say, in outward things—and must remain in outward things, for we must not stop, or shut ourselves in, in this process of enquiry. And the second must likewise be sought in outward things, but the contemplation thereof is within ourselves.[6]

This for the first two stages. It is unnecessary to point out how entirely different they are from those of García de Cisneros, and how they foreshadow, though but imperfectly and vaguely, the experiential schemes of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. A careful consideration of Laredo's system will convince us that he understands, by these two stages, two periods, each of some years' duration, in the contemplative's spiritual life. It is true that in the *notable*, where the exercises of the Purgative Way are assigned to the hours between Matins

[1] Notable. [2] Bk. i, chap. 24, title.
[3] Bk. i, chap. 36 (fol. 50r.). [4] *Cf.* p. 47, above. [5] *Ibid.*
[6] Bk. ii, chap. 14 (fol. 74v.). Note that the meditation of the second Way is described as contemplation, and cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 17–19.

and Prime,[1] the " mysteries of Christ " are set down to be considered " between Prime and None, during the whole period in which masses are being said, for in the Mass are represented the mysteries of our redemption." Further, the highest form of contemplation, representing the Unitive Way, is set down for the remaining hours of the twenty-four, from None to Matins. The context, however, suggests that these hours do not refer to one and the same day, but are given as the most suitable periods of the day for extensive meditation and contemplation whenever the stage to which they are appropriate is arrived at. We repeat that in Laredo we find, for all its vagueness, a scheme of mystical progress which is not only an advance upon Cisneros', but comes nearer than any which had yet been produced in Spain—nearer even than Osuna's—to St. Teresa's earliest system, based on the similitude of the Waters, which she herself was to recognize as imperfect and to expand into that of the Mansions.

This claim will not be weakened by a consideration of Laredo's third stage of progress, for it fully recognizes that his experience and his teaching fall in achievement far below those of the Carmelite Saints. We may use the continuation of the passage already quoted in order to describe this third stage as Laredo envisaged it :

> The third stage consists in quiet contemplation of things incorporeal, of pure spirit and of God most high ; and this must be entirely a matter of receptivity without any presumption upon our part, either of attracting aught to ourselves, or of retaining, by any skill of our own, that which comes to us. For whether we do this or no depends upon the will of the Giver, Who comes when He pleases, and when He pleases departs. From us are due only quietness and preparation, together with the destruction, as far as this is possible, of all impediment to devotion.[2]

What of the understanding in this state ? will probably be the first question that we shall ask. It is the first question, also, that Laredo deals with :

> The understanding must not be denied its office, though this

[1] See p. 56, above.

[2] Bk. ii, chap. 14 (fol. 74v.).

must be exercised with great temperance and moderation and caution. . . . Let there be naught for the understanding save to be still and to wait and receive and retain without labour, to attract, to keep without violence and to enjoy ; and all this as one that does nothing (*como quien no hace nada*). Let it be done in all quietness and great dissimulation, for this is a very great advantage, and, if a man understand it not well, let him enquire of experience.[1]

These words we must weigh with others which follow. The receptive soul is likened to a parchment on which the Master will write, or to the canvas awaiting the brush of the Painter.[2] This is surely as complete a passivity as we can well imagine. Another simile, however, which has preceded this, and is developed convincingly, whereas this is merely thrown out in passing, is very much farther from heterodoxy.

Contemplatives in the earlier stages and in the third stage respectively of the mystic life are compared to two merchants, one of whom is young and active and makes journeys through towns and villages, obtaining business as he goes, and the other, being " older, more reverend and more noble," remains at home and transacts business which comes to him.[3] The lot of the older man is the more enviable, it may be thought, but it can only come after such a busy, restless life as that led by the younger. Neither, as will readily be appreciated, is in any sense entirely idle or passive.

The same chapter which gives us these comparisons contains another and an alternative plan of the Mystic Way, in which there are five stages : reading, prayer, meditation, contemplation and spirituality. The progression is of course familiar to students of mediaeval mysticism. " By reading, the soul seeks that which it desires ; in prayer, it asks for it ; meditation receives it ; in contemplation the soul possesses it and enjoys entire quietude and peace ; while in spirituality pure and simple and true it knows its Maker, Who wills to be sought in spirit and in truth." [4]

It is not for a moment to be supposed that Laredo

[1] Bk. ii, chap. 14 (fol. 74v.).
[2] Bk. ii, chap. 15 (fol. 75r.).
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, *cf.* p. 94, below.

puts forward this scheme as an alternative to that which we have described, and which we believe to be the result of the adaptation of his personal experience to the traditional systematization of the contemplative life which in his day was current. But it will be seen that, in so far as these five stages can be properly called stages at all, they correspond sufficiently nearly to those which Laredo develops to make the comparison of them with these at once easy and interesting. Whether or no they influenced him at all is another matter.

III

The third book of the *Ascent of Mount Sion* reveals no kind of progression in thought and has no clear plan. In the remodelled form of its later editions, which we here follow, it may best be described as a collection of essays on contemplation—and more particularly on the state of Quiet[1] which it chiefly describes—generally suggested by a text from Holy Scripture, a passage from one of the Fathers or some dictum from mediaeval mystical writers. Only careful study will reveal with any clearness Laredo's full conception of the nature of Quiet, for in the effort to drive home truths which he considers essential he repeats himself so frequently, and labours his few apt similes so unmercifully, that he becomes increasingly obscure as the treatise progresses. The following exposition attempts to collect his main ideas and to present them in proper sequence.

The comparisons between the three stages of the mystical life previously adumbrated are now developed with such fullness that only a summary of the treatment is possible. First, we find that these stages are definitely connected with the three traditional Ways, a connexion which, as we have seen, has thus far been mainly implicit.

The first part is like the Purgative Way, and the second corresponds to the Illuminative Way, so that we may say that by

[1] It may be noted here that the term which Laredo uses to denote this state is most usually that of " quiet contemplation " (*contemplación quieta*) though he also makes use of the word *quietud*, and the verb which he employs is *quietarse*.

these two Ways the soul rises to the Unitive Way, wherein is the union or joining of the soul with its God . . . through the bond of love.[1]

In the first stage the seed is sown ; in the second, it is gathered ; in the third, threshed and stored.[2] In the hearts of beginners the sacred fire is but intermittently fed and burns, therefore, only intermittently ; in those of progressives, it is fed by Divine love and burns more steadily ; in those of the perfect it is a perpetual fire and never fails. " And the school of this love and the brazier of this fire are quiet contemplation." [3] Or (to vary this classification slightly) there are four degrees of Divine love : the " operative " love of beginners, which gives them the desire to serve God ; the " naked " love of progressives, who love God for Himself alone ; the " essential " love of those in Quiet, who are " near to perfection " and have set the creatures completely aside ; and the " unitive " love of the " most perfect in quiet contemplation," which God receives and " joins with His own infinite love." [4] This classification glances at a higher state than that of Quiet, but it is not developed and has all the appearance of being wholly derivative. On the other hand, there is one place in which only two states are recognized—the first, an " opening of the eye of the understanding and looking with it at created things " and at their Creator ; the second, a " rising suddenly by means of burning love to union with one's God." [5]

The exact relations between the state of Quiet and that of Union are not clearly defined. Could we consider Laredo's fourfold classification as the basis of his writings these states would correspond to the third and the fourth degree of perfection respectively. Presumably, if pressed by argument, he would have made some such distinction. But in his book as he has left it to us, the

[1] Bk. iii, sub-title (fol. 117r.). *Cf.* bk. iii, chap. 6 (fol. 126v.).
[2] Bk. iii, Proemio (fol. 116r, 116v.).
[3] Bk. iii, chap. 2 (fol. 118v.). The references are to Leviticus vi.
[4] Bk. iii, chap. 26 (fols. 145v., 146r.).
[5] Bk. iii, chap. 13 (fol. 131v.).

state of Union is not more than an occasional and fleeting Divine gift, variously referred to, but given no essential place in the mystical progress.

Whenever in this third book we speak of "infused science" or "hidden wisdom" or "secret or mystic theology" or the "exercise of aspiration," let it be understood that a sudden and momentary uplifting of the mind is meant, in which the soul, by Divine instruction, is raised of a sudden to be united through the purest love, by the affective way alone, with its most loving God, without the interposition of any thought or of any intellectual working or of the understanding or of natural reason. We said before that this operation is above all reason and human understanding, just as we also said that the mysteries of our pure and holy Catholic Faith are neither built upon natural reason nor admit of comprehension, such as the most high mystery of the Incarnation of the Divine Word, that of the most holy Sacrament of the Altar, and many others. So then this Divine operation surpasses reason and understanding; and by it the soul is raised in a moment upon the wings of love and is united with its God, so often as it pleases the Divine condescension, without the interposition of any thought of created thing.

Now in this sovereign operation our own part is difficult in the beginning, yet if we persevere with all our might in this raising of our affective nature, we reach that degree of facility at which, as high contemplatives say, the perfectly schooled soul may rise in a moment, as often as it will, to its God, and become united with Him through love. And concerning this St. Dionysius says (and Herp and Henry of Balma, both high contemplatives, affirm it) that in the practised soul this occurs as often as it pleases, and with such facility that they cannot predict it.[1]

Though the chapter from which this quotation is made describes the practice of Quiet, in its title, as "teaching" the soul to "rise on wings of love," it is evident from the text of the chapter that the second act does not invariably, still less necessarily, follow the first. The most that Laredo will assert is that Quiet predisposes to Union, or, in his own figured language, "the sleep of the soul's powers quickens the flight of

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 9 (fols. 128v., 129r.). The whole passage of which this is the most important part is translated in *Survey*, pp. 75–7, and reproduced on p. 192.

living love." [1] When the soul "in this manner of sleeping, in its inward quietness, receives the operation of none of its powers," it is the freer and more able to pursue the "path of aspiration" and take sudden flight.[2]

Whatever be the precise nature of the state of Quiet, and the relations between Quiet and Union, in Laredo's own mind, we may fairly say that this third stage of the mystic's progress which he describes—the wholly receptive state of "quiet contemplation" or Quiet—is the highest which he knew or believed to exist. "It signifies not to climb, but to have climbed already, and to be on the heights . . . by virtue of the union of love." [3] It is "the summit of Mount Sion," "the union of the soul with its God by means of unitive love." [4] It is also intimately bound up with the "communion of the most holy Sacrament," which, he adds, is the most perfect union that is possible in this hard exile.[5]

Laredo's successors in Spain were to scale and to chronicle the ascent of higher peaks than he had dreamed of, but, according to his own declaration, even this summit of "quiet contemplation" was above his own reach. "It is to be noted," he writes, "that since this third book exceeds the powers and the disposition of the author, he takes and compiles that which he writes from the sentiments and sentences of contemplative doctors." [6] Accordingly he quotes St. Jerome in calling "those who contemplate the inaccessible Divinity not men but gods"; he exhorts us in the terms of Dionysius' *Theologia mystica*; he uses and enlarges upon the famous metaphors of St. Gregory; while Richard of St. Victor, Herp and Balma are named as frequently as the Fathers.[7]

In describing the state of Quiet, Laredo uses most of the traditional figures under which earlier mystical writers have described the unitive life, but in his use of them we note a touch less sure than theirs. The soul

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 19 (fol. 136r.).
[2] *Ibid.*, cf. *Survey*, pp. 77–9.
[3] Bk. iii, chap. 1 (fol. 117v.).
[4] Bk. iii, chap. 31 (fol. 155v.).
[5] *Cf.* opening of bk. iii, chap. 32.
[6] Bk. iii, chap. 1 (fol. 117v.).
[7] Bk. iii, *passim*, especially fols. 124v., 128r., 129–31, 140–1.

in the unitive life, according to Laredo, "*desires to be* submerged and transformed in the abyss of uncreated love."[1] "*We may say that* this love of our God infuses itself into our souls as does the sun into glass, which it both illumines and penetrates, revealing itself within it, even as [God] *transforms us into love of Him.*"[2] "Even so," adds Laredo, here, "does iron change into fire." But elsewhere this last simile also is softened. A bar of iron "*is capable . . . of being transformed in the fire*, as we often see," but "though through the operation of the fire it changes its colour and its other properties, it is still essentially iron." Even so is the soul when transformed in God.[3]

These and other modifications of traditional language do not necessarily imply any inferiority or hesitancy : in spite of what he himself says, they may be the result of a conflict between experience and authority, or the preference of a scientific mind for exactness of expression. It is right to say that many of Laredo's figures, even where they rest on a basis of tradition, are thought out and applied with intelligence and ingenuity.

> If you take a piece of looking-glass no larger than a *real*, put it in a vessel of water and set it in the sun, you will see in that piece of glass, shut up and as it were recollected (*recogida*),[4] all the orbit of the sun, which is larger than the whole earth.[5]

Like St. Teresa, at a later date, Fray Bernardino is somewhat vague in his descriptions of the psychological conditions of Quiet, giving undoubtedly the impression of one whose experience outran his powers of exposition. We shall now attempt to compile a connected account of these conditions, using Laredo's own language.

It will be remembered that St. Teresa's first pronouncement on the Prayer of Quiet stated that "the faculties are recollected within the soul. . . . They are

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 26 (fol. 146r.).
[2] *Ibid.* (fol. 146v.). *Cf.* Extravagante, Epístola x (fols. 194–5).
[3] *Ibid.* (fol. 194r.).
[4] On the use of this word in metaphor, cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 94–7.
[5] *Subida*, bk. iii, chap. 26 (fol. 146v.).

not lost, neither do they sleep" ; whereas later, with an inconsistency which she confessed and attributed to progression in experience, she described Quiet, first as "resembling a swoon" (yet not a complete one), and later still as a "sleep of the faculties."[1] Laredo's teaching is apparently, and approximately, represented by St. Teresa's earliest position. The faculties are recollected and at rest, "so that the imagination may curb its fancies" and the soul "withdraw itself from vacillations and distractions."[2]

> Now from the small heed which the righteous soul gives to all things beside God proceeds spiritual sleep, in which the powers of such souls slumber, and are infused and transformed into the love of their God, in purity of substance. In such a way does this come to pass that the soul, in this manner of sleeping, in its inward quietness, receives the operation of none of its powers, nor has its comprehension to do with any created thing, but all is spiritual.[3]

The mystic in this state is completely shut up and occupied with God to the exclusion of all else. He is compared, rather quaintly, to "a hedgehog or a turtle or a tortoise," whose inner life is quite hidden from the world. "They see naught that goes on outside ; and, when they are constrained to come out, they put out only their head and feet, and at the first obstacle they meet, or the first thing they touch, they retreat at once and withdraw within themselves."[4]

It is possible to find verbal contradictions in the passages which describe the conditions of Quiet, and possible also to find ways of reconciling them. In one place it is implied that the memory alone is captive, and understanding and will are free ; in another, the will is definitely stated to be free ; in another, again, it is captive. Typical quotations may be given :

[1] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 170–2.

[2] *Subida*, bk. iii, chap. 22 (fol. 142v.) ; bk. iii, chap. 41 (fol. 173r.).

[3] Bk. iii, chap. 19 (fol. 136v.).

[4] Bk. iii, chap. 22 (fol. 141v.). Did St. Teresa (*S.S.M.*, I, p. 177 n.) take this metaphor from Laredo or from Osuna ? And did Laredo take it from Osuna, or did both use a common source ?

It is to be noted that the power (*potencia*) of our free will in this manner of pure contemplation ceases not in the least degree to function and to occupy itself in love, but that it has no understanding of what it does, nor is conscious of the least degree of noise (*bullicio*), nor is there aught wherein it knows the perfection of this its work, save in the satisfaction of the soul transformed in its Beloved by the bond of love.[1]

When the soul is thus quiet and enclosed (*encerrada*), it neither knows, nor desires, nor can desire aught, nor desires to ask aught of God after a particular manner, for its faith knows that its God, with Whom it is enclosed (*encerrada*), knows that whereof it has need.[2]

It is stilled in its God alone without being able to hold in its memory aught that is not God, although its senses and faculties at such a time are whole (*enteros*).[3]

There is no possible contradiction, however, unless implications be stretched to an exaggerated degree, in the passages describing the exceedingly small part which is played by the understanding in Quiet. In the second book of the *Ascent*, as we saw,[4] the part assigned to it was minute ; in the third book this is minimized to the point of disappearance. Though occasionally Laredo denies that the understanding has no function whatever in Quiet,—

I will not say that the understanding ceases absolutely to work in the meditation of goodness and of high merit [5]—

his chief concern is to emphasize the fact that it almost ceases.

When in a few chapters we seem to allot a part to the understanding, this is in reality to give rule and method to the unpractised who are striving to attain to quiet.[6]

Quiet contemplation comprehends by touch and penetrates not with the understanding.[7]

The very wisdom that raises the soul to a knowledge of it denies the understanding comprehension of it.[8]

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 8 (fols. 127v., 128r.).
[2] Bk. iii, chap. 41 (fol. 173r.).
[3] *Ibid.* (fol. 173v.).
[4] Pp. 57–8, above.
[5] *Subida*, bk. iii, chap. 8 (fol. 127r.).
[6] Bk. iii, Proemio (fol. 116v.).
[7] Bk. iii, chap. 5 (fol. 124v.).
[8] Bk. iii, chap. 5 (fol. 125r.).

In the time of its quietness the soul must reject any motion of the power of the intellect and natural operation.[1]

Desirous as Laredo is that contemplatives shall consider the mysteries of Christ's Humanity, he warns them not to do so "when they are in Quiet, at which time they must not think of them . . . but sink only into that fire of love." [2] In fact, while "serenity of the memory and tranquillity of the will" are important elements in the state of Quiet, the main element is "silence of the understanding . . . without admitting at such a time so much as a moment of thought (*punto de pensamiento*) concerning anything whatsoever." [3]

To Francisco de Osuna, the function of understanding in the Prayer of Quiet was that of a "tiny spark," a "living spark of simplest knowledge," sufficient for the mystic to know that he has "somewhat that is of God." [4] In St. Teresa, we find that the "tiny spark . . . which the Lord begins to kindle in the soul" is one, not of understanding, but of "true love towards Himself"—the pledge of a "greater fire, which will send forth from itself flames." [5] It is interesting to see that St. Teresa follows Laredo here rather than Osuna. His "most living spark" (*centella vivísima*) is a "vivacity of the affections" which theologians call "synderesis." [6]

The soul [in the state of Quiet] recognizes in itself naught else save only the spark of love, which is most quick within it, though in comparison with the fire of love wherein it is occupied the spark is like a drop of water in the gulf of the ocean.[7]

There is no suggestion that the passivity of the third state, however nearly complete it may be, is either permanent or continuous. If, in the language of the farmer, the grain is safely gathered into the barn, the land has still to be ploughed for the next year's harvest. The more a soul desires the graces of Quiet in this life,

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 7 (fol. 127r.).
[2] Bk. iii, chap. 5 (fol. 125v.).
[3] Bk. iii, chap. 8 (fol. 127v.).
[4] *S.S.M.*, I, p. 107.
[5] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 157, 173.
[6] *Subida*, bk. iii, chap. 12 (fol. 131r.).
[7] Bk. iii, chap. 27 (fol. 147r.).

the more earnestly it must follow the Cross of Christ.[1] Every contemplative, then, should have some "particular devotion to Our Lady, or to the holy Cross or to the wounds of Christ," and should alternate this with the practice of Quiet, engaging in "brief and ordered vocal prayer" for as short periods as half-hours at a time, perhaps even for less.[2] This is especially necessary for souls that are "weak and unpractised." Even when they have been in Quiet, they must "open the eye of the understanding and with it look at the creatures and at the Creator." [3]

This leads us naturally to the question of what will happen to a soul in Quiet when that state ceases. The faculties, which have been at rest, will return and become active. We must in no way be surprised or grieved, either by this or by any difficulty which we may find in recapturing Quiet, since the perfect and complete state is in this life impossible.[4] "Being men, those of us who are least practised in contemplation are not always ready to uplift the affections to a state of perfect Quiet." [5] But as we grow more and more adept, we shall find that the seasons of Quiet which we have enjoyed in the past bring a strong influence to bear upon the rest of our spiritual lives. "To souls that are most practised in quiet contemplation, there comes from periods of Quiet such a refreshment of the powers that when they require them to be active they find them, as it were, already instructed and ready for work of whatever kind." [6] This explains why it is that one who has had personal experience of the infused science of mystical theology can often understand Holy Scripture better than a learned doctor in acquired theology.[7]

Laredo devotes considerable space in the third book of his *Ascent* to the effect of Quiet upon normal spiritual progress. Though we cannot follow him here into great detail, we must quote one passage which is not generally

[1] Bk. iii, Proemio (fol. 116v.).
[2] Bk. iii, chap. 29 (fol. 150v.).
[3] Bk. iii, chap. 12 (fol. 131r.).
[4] Bk. iii, chap. 16 (fol. 133v.).
[5] Bk. iii, chap. 20 (fol. 137v.).
[6] *Ibid.* (fols. 137v., 138r.).
[7] *Ibid.*

known, for it may well have been the foundation of a celebrated passage in St. Teresa's *Mansions* :

> When the contemplative soul enters not into its hidden Quiet, it has to work with the faculties, which of necessity come like the bees that buzz around the flowers. . . . Having found the truth, it returns at once to its hive—that is, to recollect itself within its own substance. And in this its recollection, it understands, without noise of any kind, what it is that it has gathered. This the will takes and seals as in a honey comb and the memory keeps it. And when that Quiet ceases wherewith it worked within its own substance, like a bee that works within its own hive, the understanding returns and unseals the honey comb which memory has been keeping.[1]

" But it must be realized," Laredo continues, in words the importance of which will readily be seen, " that this reasoning (*discurso*) of the understanding and operation of the memory are in no way contrary to progress in Quiet by the path of aspiration, since, by means of the understanding, souls can readily soar who find themselves unable to fly by means of the impetuosity of the affections. And if, at such times, they exercised not the understanding, they would often be slower in recollecting themselves and in soaring aloft." [2]

There is a time, then, in the process of contemplation, at which the understanding must be busy, and there is a time at which it must cease from working and give place to Quiet. The " quiet contemplative " will of set purpose leave his accustomed state, and betake himself with " discreet understanding " to a study of the Scriptures, which are as " a table set for him with an abundance of meats." As a result of such exercise of the understanding, he will quite possibly be again raised to the state of Quiet, there to apprehend with the affections what he has already apprehended with the understanding.[3]

The aim of the contemplative in exercising his mind in this way should always be to " extract therefrom Quiet," which follows naturally, in the devout and

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 20 (fol. 138r., 138v.).
[2] *Ibid.* (fol. 138v.). [3] *Ibid.*

practised soul, upon any kind of holy reading. On the other hand, though Quiet may be abandoned for reading and meditation, these do not follow upon it in the same way. But both understanding and affections, concludes Laredo, must always have as their ultimate aim " the awakening of love, without which, contemplation of whatever kind is almost worthless." Have ever love, he says, and whether prosperity or adversity in devotion comes, you will receive it with equanimity.

We can hardly take leave of the third book of the *Ascent* without quoting some of the verses, utilized by more than one of Laredo's Spanish successors, which might well have popularized quietistic modes of thought in Spain, though there is no proof that they did so. Rudely fashioned, but none the less attractive,[2] they are described by their author as " intimate aphorisms, which I made, for my own use, in the Name of Jesus." [3] They begin, colourlessly enough, with some reflections on love:

He that labours lovingly : takes his ease, yet rich is he.
Should he take his ease for aye : still the riches with him stay.
He whose love is firm and true : in everything finds savour new.
He whom love spurs onward ever : never finds a fordless river.
He whom desire fails not to move : that man cannot cease to love.[4]

Then they pass to some personal aspirations, in the paradoxical style of St. Teresa's " I die because I do not die." [5]

O that one would make me know : all the things I cannot do ;
Make to pass from my memory : all memory can bring to me ;

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 20 (fol. 138v.).

[2] *Cf.* the verses on the Incarnation (fol. 72v.) which Laredo describes as being " sin sílabas, sin sonido," and the verses in *Josephina*, Párrafo 26.

[3] Bk. iii, chap. 40 (fol. 172r.).

[4] *Ibid.* (fol. 163r.) :

El que con amor trabaja : holgando gana ventaja.
Si quiere siempre holgar : nunca deja de ganar.
El gusto del vero amor : en todo toma sabor.
El que es bien enamorado : nunca halla río sin vado. . . .
Quien no cesa de desear : no puede cesar de amar.

[5] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 208–9.

Take myself from self away : make me, Lord, Thine own alway ;
Might I lose all, O Lord, for Thee : and seek Thee ever artlessly.[1]

Finally they express a tormenting desire for rest, which has not been entirely absent from any part of them, but now bursts out with irrepressible fervour :

O, the ocean's joys to know : to be engulf'd and not to row !
O, that I might rest alway : rest not therefrom and never stay ![2]

We need not, however, pay any great attention to these lines, which are but the expression of a passing mood. If they express quietistic ideals, and are quoted to support such ideals, they can at once be counterbalanced by lines from the same chapter in which the pendulum swings just as far in the other direction :

O that I might walk alway : never rest and never stay !
He, says Christ, who follows Me : must ever alert and upright be.[3]

In connexion with any imputation that may be brought against Laredo of inculcating undue passivity, it is of interest to note the number of images of continuous or rapid motion—journeying, flying, soaring, etc.—which he uses. At one point in his third book, he seems himself to have been struck by their frequency, and pauses to enquire into the reason for it. If God is really within us, he asks, and if to seek Him we enter within ourselves, with what appropriateness is it possible to write in this way ? He proceeds to explain his own metaphors by saying that when he counsels the soul to " raise " the affections and to " aspire " in spirit—" the soul is a bird," he writes, " and born to fly " [4]—it is always to be under-

[1] *Subida*, bk. iii, chap. 40 (fol. 172r.) :
O quien me diese a saber : cuanto puedo no poder.
Quien me hiciese olvidar : cuanto yo puedo acordar.
Quien me quitase de mí : o Dios mío, y me diese a ti.
O quien lo perdiese todo : por buscar a Dios sin modo.

[2] *Ibid.* :
Quien supiese navegar : y engolfado no remar.
Quien pudiese descansar : sin descanso y sin parar.

[3] *Ibid.* :
Quien pudiese caminar : sin pararse a resollar.
Quien ha de seguir a Cristo : ha de andar justo y bien listo.

[4] Extravagante, Epístola v (fol. 187r.).

stood that he implies a process of introversion. According to the equivalence of this type of metaphor, we are "higher than the heavens" when we are united to God within ourselves. "And this both because of the dignity of being in His presence and because all the loftiness and sublimity of the heavens is not so great as that of this Presence wherein through recollection we abide." [1] Therefore Laredo's counsel is: "Soar ye even above the heaven empyrean, and this without quitting your own souls; for ye know that ye have the heaven empyrean within yourselves." [2]

Considering how definite is the part which Laredo assigns to the supernatural element in contemplation, it is surprising to find that, except for passing references, he only once [3] deals with the subject of ecstasy. In this one place he describes a number of the conversations he has had with persons who have experienced ecstasy, notably with one whose testimony may be considered as typical of the rest:

> I remember having spoken at great length to one who knew a great deal about this, and through sovereign grace has much experience thereof, so long and so valuable that in these days of ours it may be doubted if there is anyone living who can surpass it. To this soul of whom I speak our boundless God has shown great miracles while he is yet alive. Now I had a long conversation with this person, which lasted for five days, of which two or three extended almost from sun to sun. It pleased the goodness of God that I learned many things that I desired to know, and . . . , concerning his raptures, things that I never thought to know, nor that can be set down on paper. (This person) said that in five and twenty years there had not been ten nights in which he had not known rapture and that one rapture alone was sufficient compensation for all the tribulations that he had suffered for God's sake.[4]

Such conversations as these are reported with perfect credulity, though without great enthusiasm. Their tone

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 22 (fol. 141r.).
[2] Extravagante, Epístola vi (fol. 189r.).
[3] Bk. iii, chap. 41 (fols. 174–6).
[4] *Ibid.* (fol. 175r.).

contrasts strikingly with the scornful reference to the self-confidence of the so-called *alumbrados* (illuminists)[1]: "it was fitting that they should receive the light of the Holy Inquisition."[2] Laredo's only teaching upon the subject of raptures is an exhortation to those who experience them to dissimulate them as far as possible.[3] Herein he is entirely in agreement with his great Spanish contemporaries and successors, and indeed with all genuine Christian mystics as opposed to practitioners in the mystical sciences that are falsely so called.

IV

The extant letters of Bernardino de Laredo, though only twelve in number, and at times so impersonal that they might be discourses or meditations in epistolary form, cannot be omitted from this survey, so strongly are they coloured by mysticism. Letter I, on the profit which the "new contemplative" should gain from the Church's festivals, is of no great importance. Letters II and III, on temptation and suffering respectively, are ascetic, as are Letters VII, VIII, IX and XII, which are mainly concerned with the religious life in one or other of its aspects. Others are almost wholly mystical, and of as great interest as the *Ascent*. Such are Letter IV, on the "heaven empyrean and its significance in contemplation"; Letter V, on the superiority of the contemplative life to the active; Letter VI, on the "manner which the contemplative should observe in his annihilation, in dealing with things incorporeal which require purity of spirit only." Letter X, which discusses "how a thing can be transformed into another and yet preserve its own being," is clearly inspired by mystical literature, as also is Letter XI, on "the difference between the transformation of the soul in love and its being made one spirit therewith."

So little, in our review of the *Ascent*, has been said of the active life that it may be as well here to record

[1] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, p. 37 n.
[2] Extravagante, Epístola v. (fol. 187v.).
[3] Bk. iii, chap. 41 (fol. 176v.).

Laredo's sympathetic concern for actives, and the tactful though forcible manner in which he places the contemplative life above the active. "I will not describe as truly spiritual," he says, "those who give themselves to contemplation and despise actives: such a tendency is rather to be called a great temptation than pure contemplation. . . . I do not know what it can betoken save a great lack of spirituality in any who, because of their contemplation, have disdain for actives." [1] Yet "it is more licit to follow the contemplative life without knowing aught of the active life—saving always obedience and charity—than to lead the active life without seeking the life of contemplation, which of the two is very much the better." [2] Laredo is greatly concerned because it is despised by actives, who should regard it more highly [3]: he wishes that he could avenge his fellow-contemplatives for all the uncharitable things that are said about them.[4]

The most noteworthy passages in Laredo's letters are those in which, probably through following out thoughts suggested by his reading, he endeavours to distinguish between the mystical state which he has termed Quiet and one somewhere above it towards which he is continually groping, because he feels that it must exist. In Quiet, the soul may be described as "transformed in love"—he has himself already so described it. But in this higher state, "through the great goodness of God the transformed soul plunges and is submerged and engulfed in the love wherein it was transformed aforetime." [5]

There is, it would seem, no softening of the traditional language of the mystics in this letter. The soul in this higher state is not merely as iron thrust into the fire. It is as a spark consumed in the fire, which becomes one with the fire.

> The same comes to pass with the soul that is made one spirit in God, by God and with God. While not ceasing to be a soul, it is so completely infused (*infundida*) in God, so entirely

[1] Extravagante, Epístola v. (fol. 186v.).
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* (fol. 187v.).
[4] *Ibid.* (fol. 188r.).
[5] Epístola xi. (fol. 195v.).

transformed in Him, so like to God in the one will (*voluntad*) which is between them, that there is one willing (*querer*) in them and between them, in the which willing the two things are one only, and in one will only,—a will enamoured, converted, submerged, engulfed and transformed in the most finely refined love, wherein the soul is absorbed and made one with the love which transformed it into itself.[1]

This is at once bold and noble language, foreshadowing, to a remarkable degree, some of the finest passages in St. John of the Cross. But although it appears to go farther than similar language, both in this letter and in the *Ascent*,[2] it is no sooner committed to paper than it is modified. We recognize it as coming from one who has not himself attained to the sublime experiences of which he writes and can therefore speak only with imperfect knowledge.

But in the examples given it is well to understand that both the spark, when it returned to the great fire, and the drop of water, when it fell into the sea, lost their being, and could never again be separated. It is not possible that this should be so between the spirit that is enkindled and converted into love and the spirit that enkindled and engulfed it wholly in itself. For these are two spirits, bound with the strength of one love.[3]

Practically nothing has been said in these pages of the *Josephina*, which can hardly be called mystical in any sense, and is also conveniently accessible in a modern French translation [4] for those anxious to read it for themselves. One conjecture concerning it may, however, be ventured.

As is generally known, the *Ascent of Mount Sion* was read by St. Teresa at an early stage in her spiritual experience, when she " could say neither little nor much " of what happened to her in prayer. She found, in that part of it " which treats of union of the soul with God," all the marks of her own experience. " What it said about thinking nothing," she writes, " was just what I so often said, that I could think of nothing at all when

[1] Epístola xi. (fol. 195v.).
[2] *Ibid.* (fol. 196r.).
[3] *Cf.* p. 63, above.
[4] Bibl., No. 1064.

I was in that state of prayer." She goes on to say that she marked these parts of the book and showed them to her director and another cleric whom she consulted about her experience.[1]

We are not prepared to assert of Laredo and St. Teresa, with P. Michel-Ange : " Pas une figure, pas une comparaison, pas une image de ce vieux ecstatique, dont on ne reconnaisse, chez elle, la manifeste réminiscence." [2] But his suggestion that the saint's devotion to St. Joseph was at least fed, if not largely created, by the *Josephina* [3] seems to us a very likely one, for it was just after the time when the *Ascent* first appeared that she was stricken by her paralysis, and after she found that earthly doctors could do nothing for her she began to invoke the aid of St. Joseph, by whose intercession, as she believed, she was cured. What more likely than that it was the *Josephina* which first led her to the blessed foster-father of her Lord, " whose guiding hand she discovered in all her after successes and triumphs."

She saw him in her visions ; to him she dedicated many of her convents ; and it is she who, resuscitating that devotion for him which had been allowed to fall into abeyance, restored him once more from the shadowy background to which he had been relegated, to his rightful place beside the refulgent figure of the Virgin Mary.[4]

It was she who did this, but she had had at least one precursor in it, as we have seen, among the Spanish mystics.

Apart from the *Josephina*, which is confessedly modelled upon Gerson's long poem of the same title, there is not a great deal in Laredo's output that can be called derivative. In the *Ascent*, the reader's impression is that such authorities as are used—including the " great," " most learned " and " most Christian " Gerson —have been well assimilated, and that the writer is quite

[1] St. Teresa : *Vida*, chap. xxiii (*Obras*, ed. P. Silverio, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. i, p. 176).

[2] *Traité*, etc., p. 11. [3] *Ibid.* pp. ii, iii.

[4] G. Cunninghame Graham : *Santa Teresa*, London, 1907, p. 114.

at home among them. His principal sources, among older writers, are St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, with occasionally Dionysius, St. Ambrose and St. Bernard, and, of mediaeval mystics, "our" St. Bonaventura, Richard of St. Victor, Balma (in the "Sun of Contemplatives"), Herp (in the "Golden Directory") and "Henry Carlaal, a most quiet contemplative." The last three are of the greatest interest to the historian of Spanish mysticism, but from any other standpoint the question of Laredo's sources cannot be counted an important one. As religious writers of his epoch go, Laredo must be considered distinctly original, and he is certainly so in those conceptions, and the manner of his treatment of them, which give him a peculiar place, perhaps even a unique one, among the Spanish mystics.

CHAPTER III

MYSTICISM IN THE PULPIT: ST. THOMAS OF VILLANUEVA

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I

St. Thomas of Villanueva (Santo Tomás de Villanueva) must always be remembered in the mystical history of Spain as the preacher who brought mysticism into the pulpit. Whether or no it is desirable that the life of higher prayer should be described in detail before parochial congregations is a question which may be open to discussion : to point the way to it and to leave anything further to the spiritual director may seem the wiser proceeding for the ordinary preacher. This, however, was not sufficient for St. Thomas of Villanueva, and it would be hard to find anyone in sixteenth-century Spain who approached him as a pulpit exponent of mysticism. Luis de Granada, Juan de los Ángeles and other preachers famed for their eloquence wrote frequently on mystical themes, but there is little or no evidence that they ever preached on them. In the saintly Archbishop of Valencia, then, we have a mystic of the Golden Age who, though early in date, has a claim upon our notice which is peculiarly his own.

Born in 1488, at Fuenllana, near Ciudad Real, Tomás was the eldest son of a couple named Alonso Tomás García and Lucía Martínez de Castellanos. The surname by which he has become known he took from the name of his family home, Villanueva de los Infantes, a few miles from his birthplace. He studied at the newly founded Colegio Mayor of San Ildefonso in the University of Alcalá, taking the degrees of Master in Arts and Licentiate in Theology. For a while also (1514–16) he lectured in philosophy there, among his pupils being the famous Domingo de Soto. In 1516 he was called to the Chair of Natural Philosophy (a minority of his biographers say it was that of Moral Philosophy) at Salamanca. As to whether or no he accepted this

invitation and took up the post the authorities differ. If he did, he can hardly have fulfilled his duties for very long,[1] for on November 21, 1516, he took the habit of St. Augustine at Salamanca, professed in the year following, and soon after[2] was ordained to the priesthood. He appears to have lectured for a time, in his monastery, on theology, but his lecturing soon gave place to preaching, in which he excelled. As shortly after his ordination as the Lent of 1522 we find him preaching in Salamanca Cathedral, and upon this followed his appointment as preacher to the Emperor Charles V.

For some twenty years from this time Fray Tomás led a life of great activity in his Order. Only two years after his profession, on May 4, 1519, he was elected Prior of the Salamancan monastery, whence, in 1522, he went as Prior to Burgos, and, later still, to Valladolid. In 1525, he was appointed Visitor of the Province of Andalucía and Castile, and, on its division, two years afterwards, he became Provincial of Andalucía. In 1530, on the termination of his provincialate, he went back to Salamanca as Prior, and, after three years (1534–7) as Provincial of Castile, became Definitor of the Province (1537), and returned, also as Prior, to Burgos (1537) and Valladolid (1541). While at Valladolid, he was offered the Archbishopric of Valencia. His success as Provincial of Andalucía had already brought him a call to that of Granada, which he had refused. Now, under pressure from his Provincial, he accepted high office,[3] and was consecrated on New Year's Day, 1545.

As Archbishop of Valencia, St. Thomas of Villanueva became known throughout Spain by the beautiful title "Father of the poor." It was not that he learned to know the needy only as a prelate, but that the oppor-

[1] Quevedo (Bibl., No. 1113, *ed. cit.*, p. 60), who is the most precise here, says that he gave only three lectures.

[2] The date usually given for his ordination is 1518, though there are authorities who cite 1517 and 1520.

[3] The circumstances are fully detailed by himself in a letter to the Prior General of his Order (*Opera*, ed. 1881 (Bibl., No. 1095), vol. vi, pp. 519–20. *Cf.* also pp. 520–1).

tunity to do them good increased beyond all measure with the increase of his responsibilities. "One thing alone," he would say, "I can call my own—the obligation to distribute to my brethren the possessions with which God has entrusted me."

Such renunciation and detachment as that for which he is famous could only have come from life-long training and custom. In spite of his learning and his marked administrative ability, the note dominant throughout his life had been that of charity. His father had died when he was a boy and left him wealthy, but he had distributed his patrimony to the poor and devoted himself at Alcalá to plain living as well as to high thinking. With great place and great responsibility there came to him at Valencia great happiness. And this he attained, during the ten years that he ruled his see, largely by giving away five-sixths of his income in charity.

Down to the day of his death, these habits of almsgiving continued with him. To his personal servant he gave, during his last illness, the very bed on which he was lying, begging leave to continue the use of it for the few days of life that were left him. Had the servant had no resting-place of his own, one feels that the Archbishop would have refused himself even that much comfort. He died, after many years of ill-health,[1] on September 8, 1555. He was beatified in 1618 and canonized forty years later.

II

A total of some three hundred and fifty Latin sermons, arranged according to the seasons of the Christian year for which they were composed, represented, until comparatively recent years, practically the whole of the work of St. Thomas of Villanueva known to posterity. If he himself had had his way, even these Latin works would not have survived him, for

[1] *Opera*, ed. 1881, vol. vi, pp. 527, 534–6.

apparently he conceived of religious oratory as a purely ephemeral *genre*, and, however much work he had put into a sermon, was unwilling that it should be preserved after his death. The real author of the successive editions of his collected sermons which appeared from 1581 onwards [1] is probably an Augustinian named Juan de Muñatones, a devoted disciple of the Saint who was also the first of his biographers. St. Thomas of Villanueva steadily refused either to publish his writings during his lifetime or to consent to their publication posthumously; but, when the importunity of P. Muñatones became too much for the patience even of a saint, he bequeathed to him his manuscripts to do with them as he desired. The result was the Alcalá edition (1581) of the *Conciones sacrae*, on which all succeeding editions of sermons and so-called *Opera omnia* have been founded.[2]

The last half-century has witnessed the publication of a number of St. Thomas of Villanueva's opuscules in Spanish, many of them being made known in connexion with the quatercentenary of his birth. Most of these are either sermons, drafts of sermons, or letters, and are of less distinction than the sermons published in Latin in the collected works. There are, however, exceptions, such as the *Sermon on the Love of God*, which Menéndez y Pelayo, whose reading in this *genre* was so wide, could nevertheless describe with superlatives.[3]

The discovery of so many Castilian sermons has raised again the question which has been discussed in the past without extensive basis of knowledge, as to whether the *Conciones sacrae* were written originally in Latin or in Spanish. It is known that they were preached in Valencia, Castile and Andalucía, and, as internal evidence suggests that their hearers were not

[1] P. Uceda's incomplete edition of 1572 (see note, Bibl., No. 1075) was incorporated in that published at Alcalá in 1581.

[2] It is right to say that the extent to which P. Uceda used the material which P. Muñatones supplied to the Augustinian Province of Castile has not yet been determined by critical methods. The statement in the text represents the view usually taken of the matter.

[3] *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. iii, Madrid, 1896, p. 138.

intellectuals, they were probably written and preached in Spanish. The fact that so many of the Archbishop's sermons are extant in the same unpolished Castilian also suggests that most or all of his sermons were written in that language, and either delivered in the vernacular and afterwards translated or, less frequently, translated into Latin for delivery to select congregations. Who translated them, and when, it is impossible to say.[1]

Many of the *Conciones sacrae*, quite naturally, follow the usual expository or homiletic paths associated with their particular subjects. Others, again, treat of themes so closely related by tradition with the mystical life that no preacher who had any experience of that life, whether in his own person or through the direction of consciences, could wholly avoid speaking of it. Such are the Gospel for the feast of St. Mary Magdalen (St. Luke vii, 36–50), on which another Augustinian was to write an entire book which will for ever have a place in Spanish literature, and the *Song of Songs*, on which St. Thomas of Villanueva composed a special course of expository addresses. But between these two extremes there are many sermons in which the mystic is heard speaking through the mouth of the preacher, and from these will be made the majority of our quotations, since it is chiefly they which give their author his peculiar place in Spanish mystical history.

The exposition of the *Song of Songs*, standing, as it does, by itself, may be considered separately. Like the later and very much longer one of Fray Juan de los Ángeles, it completes only a part of the sacred book—considerably less than half of it. Like that exposition, too, it expressly disclaims any pretension to originality.[2] And, needless to say, St. Thomas, like Juan de los Ángeles, and indeed like all who wrote on the *Song of Songs* at that time, considers it to be from beginning to end a mystical treatise. Solomon, he says, wrote three

[1] On this question, see P. Gregorio de Santiago Vela, O.S.A., in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, vol. x, p. 430.

[2] *Opera*, etc., Salamanca, 1761–4 (Bibl., No. 1073), vol. iv, pp. 364–5. This edition, except where otherwise stated, is used for references in this chapter, and is described as *Opera*.

books : the Proverbs, for beginners in the way of virtue ; the Ecclesiastes, for proficients ; and the Song of Songs, for " the perfect and the spiritual." This last is a book, he considers, which is both more difficult and more sublime than any other in the Bible.[1]

He finds in it all the stages of the Mystic Way, as he understands this. " Note the wonderful order," he exclaims. " The shadow of faith is followed by the fruit of devotion. After this fruit comes inebriation ; after this, inaction ; then, sleep ; and, after sleep, ecstasy, wherein the soul hears, from the lips of the Beloved, ' unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' And when the soul, filled with their sweetness, awakes, it offers itself wholly to the Beloved, humbly beseeching Him that, though He depart, He will be pleased to return." [2]

In this passage we have six stages of mystical progress, with the peculiarity that fleeting periods of ecstasy are postulated as the highest degree of such progress and that neither the Purgative Way nor the Unitive Life is expressly named. The insistence on faith as an essential preliminary to any mystical experience, however, may be regarded as implying some degree of purgation, exactly as may St. Teresa's insistence on humility, which, it will be remembered, is the characteristic of her first Mansion.[3] " Failure in humility," she says, " is the fault of those who make no progress." [4] " None can ever attain to the sweetness of contemplation," asserts St. Thomas, similarly, " save by faith." [5]

Hardly anything is said of the " inebriation of love." It is the rarest of all mystical favours—which is strange, it may be remarked, since it is not the highest—" granted only to him who has put his doubts to rest in the shadow of faith," and who, as well as having " firmness of faith," has attained to " assiduity of contemplation " and

[1] Prologus, *Opera*, vol. iv, pp. 365–6.

[2] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 384. *Cf.* p. 375. [3] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 165–6.

[4] *Moradas*, iii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, ed. P. Silverio, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. iv, p. 40).

[5] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 375.

has been nurtured with the food of Holy Scripture.[1] St. Thomas gives some idea of the treasures of knowledge, love, joy and peace which are stored up for the mystic in the "cellars of wine," and for which he has not to labour as in the lower stages of his progress.[2] But he is no less anxious to give the soul warnings against temptation. "Let him beware illusions; let him beware deceptions; let him beware false revelations."[3]

There is less to be found on inebriation in this exposition than on the part played in mystical progress by rest, quiet, inaction, sleep and other forms of apparent inactivity. The soul seeks her lover upon her bed, "non in negotio, sed in otio." "Not amid raging tempests of the world and the noise of affairs, but in the delights of quiet contemplation, and in peaceful retreat I sought Him quietly by night upon my bed."[4] Again and again the expositor breaks out into eloquence in praise of solitude and silence:

> O most welcome solitude, where the soul is alone and in quietness with God only! O pleasing silence, where all things are still and the voice of the Beloved is heard with the faintest sound! . . .
>
> O pleasant solitude, most meet for devotion and contemplation, wherein the soul is never less alone than when it is alone![5]

A glimpse at least is given of the Dark Night of the Soul. Seeking her Beloved upon her bed and failing to find him, the soul goes out into the streets and the broad ways (Cant. iii, 2), asking all she meets if they have seen Him whom her soul loveth. And the answer she receives is: "Thou shalt find Him, not in speech but in anguish; not in words but in wounds."[6] Nor

[1] *Opera*, vol. iv, pp. 375–6. The order of these attainments in this passage is that given in the text above.

[2] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 376.

[3] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 382. *Cf.* above: "*Deficit cor meum et caro mea: Deus cordis mei, et pars mea Deus in aeternum.* Vidi ego quandam religiosam, quae de seipsa hoc asserebat, et exteriori languore monstrabit, an vere, nescio, Deus scit." This is the only properly personal reference in the treatise.

[4] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 384.

[5] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 388.

[6] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 386: "Scio, quia vidistis, ubi eum inveniam, dicite mihi. Non verbis, sed plagis, non sermonibus sed vulneribus, mihi responsum est."

when she attains her desire, does her success prove to have been due to the creatures in which she sought Him. Like St. Augustine, she sought Him without and found Him within.[1]

The finding of the Beloved leads St. Thomas of Villanueva to speak of the joys of the Unitive Life, which he describes in somewhat vaguer and less metaphorical language than is usual, dwelling rather upon its sublimity and perfection than upon its nature. Little is said anywhere in the treatise of the nature of Union. It is envisaged principally as completeness of sight, knowledge and understanding, rather than as any kind of passivity or absorption. After "the sleep of contemplation," the "perfect soul" comes to a "knowledge of God and the understanding of things Divine." "Whereas, before, it saw darkly (1 Cor. xiii), now it can see more clearly; before, it heard obscurely of secret mysteries, which now it can perceive more openly and distinctly." And this knowledge and perception it has gained, "not suddenly, but . . . gradually, as it has attained the crest of perfection."[2]

Another description of the Mystic Way, and one which follows the three traditional stages, is to be found in this exposition. This is conveyed under the familiar metaphor of smoke and flame. In the Purgative Way, the soul sends forth no flame, but "smoke, though emitting likewise the sweetest of odours"[3]; in the Illuminative Way, it sends forth smoke together with flame; in the Unitive Way, having reached "the supreme degree of perfection," purest flame only.[4] Or this threefold ascent can be illustrated in another way. God "enraptures" the soul after three manners: first, in fervour and devotion; secondly, by enlightening the mind; and thirdly, by granting the soul delight and joy. This is the *triplex raptus contemplationis*, by which the soul is raised above itself.[5]

"In this [second canticle of the *Song of Songs*],"

[1] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 386.
[2] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 379.
[3] *Cf.* p. 20, n. 6, above.
[4] *Opera*, vol. iv, pp. 388–9.
[5] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 389.

ends the exposition,[1] "the subject is contemplation, as that of the first chapter is love."[2] It is no doubt because the expositor believed that "those who take diligent note can find in it the ladder of contemplation, with the manner, order, variety and nature of the contemplative soul,"[3] that at times he rises here to greater heights of eloquence than anywhere else in his writings. To P. Monasterio, whose brief but interesting study of the Saint[4] repays careful consideration, the exposition as a whole is his greatest work in this respect.[5] To us, it seems rather that the discerning reader will be struck at first with its commendable sobriety, which is precisely the quality demanded by the conciseness of the treatment. It is not until its later pages, and then somewhat gradually, that the author rises to the height of his great argument, which only in a few scattered, though magnificent, passages can he be said adequately to sustain.

III

We turn now to the *Conciones*, properly so called, in order to discover what the Archbishop has to say in his every-day, parochial sermons upon the high themes of which some writers would discourse only in the cloister. Like most Augustinian mystics, he dwells often on love in general as well as on the experiences of the lover in the Mystic Way. In some places he combines these two themes with singular power: it is perhaps here that he is at his very best. The sermon "Dilexit multum"[6] is an example of this: it says little of the mystical life and nothing of its grades or stages, but it is penetrated throughout with the mystical spirit and, with rare eloquence, describes the transforming

[1] It is true that the author goes on to say: "sed iam ad sequentia transeamus" (p. 391). But no continuation has been preserved for us. (*Cf.* note, p. 391.) The "second canticle" referred to above corresponds to A.V., chaps. ii, 8 to iii, 5.

[2] *Opera*, vol. iv, p. 391.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Místicos*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1118).

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

[6] *Opera*, vol. v, pp. 374–92.

power of the love of God. In the three sermons for the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost,[1] again, which all deal with love, there are some exquisite passages, recalling St. Paul's hymn of love,[2] and others, from the mystical standpoint less striking, but all highly suggestive,[3] which might justify our classing their author with the mystics had he written nothing else. He traces the degrees of love from the lowest of all, where we love ourselves for our own sake, as far as that in which we love everything for God's sake, a point at which, he maintains, it is in no way presumptuous for anyone, whatever his talents and character, to aim.[4]

Contemplation he describes as springing from desire, and desire from love. The "spiritual man" should have the "wings of contemplation and desire," wherewith he may soar on high. "For the heart of man is borne aloft, as upon wings, to the heavenly places, when he contemplates these with fervour and desire." [5] Here and in similar passages the contemplative is compared to an eagle.[6] Elsewhere contemplation is a mountain and the contemplative a stag.[7] But the impelling force, whatever metaphor is employed, is the love which excites both to contrition and to devotion, and both inspires and sustains the lover.[8]

But though in isolated passages contemplation is described as a "holy rest" (*otium*) [9] it is made abundantly clear elsewhere that it implies the practice of good works and spiritual exercises. The outward and inward rhythm

[1] For which the Gospel is St. Matt., xxii, 35–46 (A.V.).

[2] E.g. *Opera*, vol. iii, p. 292: "Seipso verus amor contentus est, non quaerit aliquid extra se, a seipso incipit et in seipsum desinit, velut animae circulus quidam. Amo quia amo, amo ut amem, et non aliam quaerens causam, nullum alium finem exquirens."

[3] E.g. *Opera*, vol. iii, p. 283: "Verè caminus, verè fornax, in quo caelestium vasa spirituum, flagrantissimo illo ac potentissime igne excoquuntur, conflantur, et transformantur in Deum; et ad perpetuum illum et immarcessibilem gloriae impetum et voluptatis torrentem degustandum, firmissimo robore solidantur."

[4] *Opera*, vol. iii, p. 293.

[5] *Conciones*, etc., Milan, 1760–1, vol. i, pp. 457–8. This edition is referred to below as *Conciones*.

[6] *Conciones*, vol. i, pp. 873, 887.

[7] *Conciones*, vol. i, p. 907.

[8] *Conciones*, vol. ii, pp. 309, 362.

[9] E.g. *Conciones*, vol. ii, p. 325.

of the mystical life, the ascent and descent on the mystical ladder, are never forgotten.[1] The contemplative may soar upward on the wings of desire, " but beneath the wings it behoves him to have the hands of good works and holy exercises ; so that, as his mind yearns for the heavenly places in prayer, his hand may not grow weary in labour." [2] The soul must feed no less among the " lilies " of holy thoughts, Scripture readings and meditations, than among " sublime contemplations wherewith it is refreshed as with celestial banquets, feeding thereon as upon lilies springing from the heavens." [3] Contemplation is described elsewhere as a gift of the Holy Spirit, but with it are placed the gifts of fervid devotion, compassion towards one's neighbours, patience, humility, piety and meekness.[4] It may be remarked here that St. Thomas of Villanueva makes very little mention of spiritual sweetness (" favours," *regalos*) except occasionally and in passing.[5] Contemplation itself is to him a " favour." It is quite definitely not given to all, and those to whom it is not given should not complain of this.[6]

Less is said here than in the exposition of the *Song of Songs* about the stages of the contemplative life, for we can hardly take into account either the frequent isolated references to the Purgative, Illuminative and Unitive Ways, which are nowhere delimited with precision, or the somewhat academic quotation from a Homily of

[1] *Opera*, vol. iii, p. 326 : " Ibant et revertebantur "—" Vadunt per cognitionem Dei, revertuntur per considerationem sui : vadunt ascendentes per contemplationem supernorum, revertuntur condescendentes utilitatibus proximorum : utrumque in similitudinem fulguris coruscantis : quia sive contemplentur cum Deo, sive negotientur cum proximo : ex se scintillas emittunt, quae videntes inflammant. . . . Alas habent, et sub alis manus, contemplatione suspensi et actione praecipui."

[2] *Conciones*, vol. i, pp. 457–8.

[3] *Conciones*, vol. ii, p. 674. Note that the study of the life of Christ is again recommended (cf. *Conciones*, vol. i, p. 545). *Cf.* also here *Opera*, vol. iii, p. 327 : " Hae sunt sponsae conditiones, scilicet, fides, contemplatio, obediencia, mundi renunciatio et carnis mortificatio . . . etc."

[4] *Conciones*, vol. i, p. 766.

[5] See *Opera*, vol. iii, pp. 321–2. In the exposition of the *Song of Songs*, rather more mention is, in the nature of the case, made of this. Cf. *Opera*, vol. iv, pp. 374 ff.

[6] *Conciones* (Cologne, 1687) (Bibl., No. 1088), vol. ii, p. 329.

St. Chrysostom,[1] which can have meant very little to the majority of those that heard it. But this is as we should expect, for in a sermon, and especially in a sermon delivered to an ordinary congregation, it is more fitting to hold up contemplation as an ideal, to describe its effects upon the character, and to detail the qualities necessary in those who would experience it, than to give an exact account of the different stages of its course and the signs of each. It should be represented in such a way as to cause those who love God to desire it, and to prepare themselves for it, even if they should never in fact attain to it.

Such, in effect, is the proceeding adopted in his sermons by St. Thomas of Villanueva, whom one suspects to have been another example of the supremely practical type of mystic with which all acquainted with mysticism are familiar. In one place we find him holding up the life of the contemplative for admiration :

> How lovely is the soul in contemplation ! For therein is all its grace and beauty. Therein is the soul purified by fervour, adorned in its spirit, renewed by heavenly fire, bathed in tears and made whiter than snow.[2]

In another place, he finds a concrete type of the contemplative soul in the Blessed Virgin, whose life he conceives to have been one of " continual contemplation, perpetual fervour of devotion and uninterrupted kindling of the spirit." [3]

St. Thomas uses the character of the Blessed Virgin to illustrate another point which we should expect to hear frequently made in the pulpit by a mystically-minded preacher : the beauty of the union of the active life with the contemplative.[4] In the life of Our Lady, says the preacher, both reached their point of perfection,[5] and, though he describes the nature and the perfection of each singly, he reserves his highest praises in these sermons

[1] *Conciones*, vol. i, p. 887 : " Primus, extasis : quando silent omnes sensus, omnia phantasmata, omnes motus animae. . . . Secundus est horror, id est, peccatorum cognitio. . . . Tertius est caligo. . . ."

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 325–6.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 332.

[4] *Conciones*, vol. ii, pp. 326, 362.

[5] *Conciones*, vol. ii, p. 301.

for a combination of both.[1] The restraint with which St. Thomas speaks of the Mystic Way in his public discourses has its complement in the eloquence which he permits himself here, and we realize, as we read him, how this man of God was also a man among men, who is to be respected for his sagacity as well as venerated for the sanctity of his life.

IV

Though the Castilian works of St. Thomas of Villanueva are brief and scattered, the total of those collected and uncollected is by no means inconsiderable. Our sole concern, as it happens, is with the works published in the sixth volume of the Manila (1881) edition of his writings, which incorporates all that have a mystical tendency, and also all the most notable of those which have appeared at any time in the past independently.

Neither the three Castilian sermons in this volume nor the twenty-four letters [2] having any mystical significance, we are left with six opuscules : one giving ten rules for the service of God ; one on reading, meditation, prayer and contemplation ; one on the Beatitudes ; two on the Holy Communion ; and one giving advice to a youth about to take the habit of a religious order.

The mystical interest of the " ten rules " lies in the summary which follows them. Giving as his authority " certain doctors such as Denis the Carthusian," St. Thomas recommends all beginners to follow a daily scheme of meditation " till the Lord provides them with His spirit." The scheme runs thus :

On Sundays they should contemplate the resurrection of the Lord and of the human race ; on Mondays, the day of universal judgment ; on Tuesdays, the creation of all things and their government and order (*concierto*) ; on Wednesdays, the joy of the blessed in Heaven, which we all hope to attain ; on Thursdays, the shortness of this life ; on Fridays, the passion of the Lord ;

[1] *Conciones*, vol. ii, pp. 360 ff.

[2] *Opera*, ed. 1881, vol. vi, pp. 431–45, 518–40. The letters are all to persons of authority and written between 1542 and 1552.

on Saturdays, the good and the evil deeds which they have done in the week past, and the works of mercy wherein they have busied themselves or through negligence have left undone.[1]

The author goes on, still following the "holy doctors," to expound the Purgative, Illuminative and Unitive Ways, taking examples to make his meaning clearer. He is less vivid and less detailed than either Cisneros or Laredo, yet in his general method he resembles them closely. "The soul considers our Redeemer bound to the column or nailed to the Cross and understands that the innocent Lamb suffers for our sins. At this consideration the soul becomes sad and sighs and weeps because it has offended God and been the cause of His death. This is called the Purgative Way, because in it the soul is purged of its sins." [2] This done —no indication whatever is given of time—the soul considers that "through those blessed wounds, blows and nails it is freed from the trials and torments of Hell and made ready for the glory of Heaven ; its affections are enlarged and it is glad. . . . This is called the Illuminative Way, wherein the soul, enlightened by grace, employs itself in giving thanks to God for such great mercies and benefits as it receives." [3]

"Finally," continues the summary, "contemplating the Lord on the Cross, the soul conceives a great and charitable (*caritativo*) love, and, having seen how great is the love wherewith He suffered to redeem it and give it glory, it is enkindled with so great a desire and fervour to be with its Spouse that it neither remembers past sins nor stays to consider the benefits which it has received, but, soaring tranquilly and with a gentle rapture, says in the words of the prophet David : 'O that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away to my beloved God and be at rest !' Thus it endeavours to be united and made one with God. This is called the Unitive Way, for in it, through love, the soul becomes one with its beloved Spouse Jesus Christ." [4]

Here, then, we have an outline of three stages cor-

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 450–1.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 451.

responding to those of the Mystic Way, but referring to the spiritual life, not of the mystic, but of the ordinary Christian. There is no suggestion in these pages that any attempt is being made to describe the progress of the contemplative. Thus we find for the second time in these studies the adumbration of a threefold life of spiritual progress upon which a higher life is to be built. St. Thomas of Villanueva's scheme is slighter in its nature than that of García de Cisneros, and, as a comparison will show, differs from it in various respects, both explicitly and by implication. The two are sufficiently alike, however, to stand together for purposes of contrast and comparison with other schemes both earlier in date and later.

Mystical language of a general kind is used freely by St. Thomas in the brief elaboration which he makes of his tri-partite exposition, so that a not too careful reader may risk being led astray by it. "We must practise," he writes, "contemplation and meditation on the life of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to (these) three motives." [1] We must "purge our soul from sins and give thanks with joy to the Lord for all His benefits, so that there may result thence a love and affection so deep that it will make us one with our Beloved, Jesus Christ." [2] Directions are then given for the application of these principles, by exercises practised daily, or, better, thrice daily : here we come back into the region of the active life—to the lower threefold course of Cisneros.

The directions for these exercises are amplified in the following opuscule, which treats in turn of "reading, meditation, prayer and contemplation." The use of these four heads [3] to denote four stages in spirituality is, as we have seen, quite common in Spanish religious writers. P. Monasterio claims for St. Thomas of Villanueva "if not the privilege of priority among the Spanish mystics who have written in Castilian on these four means of perfection in the spiritual life, certainly a pre-eminent

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 451. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] They come from the *Scala paradisi*, a work long attributed, though erroneously, to St. Augustine.

place among them." [1] But we cannot agree that the Saint's treatment of this theme is in any way outstanding, still less original. The progression of thought is well known : " Seek (in reading) and ye shall find (in meditation) ; knock (in prayer) and it shall be opened to you (in contemplation)." [2] On this exhortation, considered as the foundation of the contemplative life proper, it will be sufficient for us to make a few observations.

The " contemplative life," for St. Thomas of Villanueva, begins with meditation, which springs from holy reading and mortification and has thus its roots in the active life.[3] Its aim is " transformation in the love of God, so as to become, by such transformation, one thing with God in spirit." [4] Prayer follows meditation—and prayer not only in the sense of the raising of the soul to God, but also in that of petition, for, without holy reading and meditation, the soul cannot know what good things to ask for. The principal cautions which St. Thomas gives on this subject apply mainly to prayer in the former sense, and to contemplation. We are " not to desire visions or revelations, for such desire cannot come save through pride, presumption or vain curiosity." Nor must we " seek any delight or consolation which is founded in our self-esteem or presumption." Not only a vision, but " any feeling " that we may experience, is to be suspect if it be not in clear conformity with the Faith ; and all " visions, feelings and raptures " which we experience, or of which we hear, must be examined by this criterion.[5]

For the section on contemplation St. Thomas of Villanueva goes to Richard of St. Victor, adopting his definition of contemplation as a " glad and delightful wonder at the purest and most enlightened truth." [6] He dwells at length upon the repose and tranquillity which are necessary to the true contemplative, and upon the joys of perfect contemplation, but says hardly anything as to the manner of attaining to that end, this

[1] *Místicos*, etc., p. 88.
[2] *Cf.* p. 58, above.
[3] *Opera*, ed. 1881, vol. vi, p. 460.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 461.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 466.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 467–8.

section being by far the least practical of the four. Its chief interest is in an allusion, apparently derived from the Saint's own experience, to " those who receive from God graces, tears, favours and spiritual consolations, and, instead of serving God better on that account, become proud and disinclined to labour further in the spiritual life, but wish to rest in that which they have received." [1] There are, after all, apparently spiritual gifts which come from the devil : " these have overthrown many Catholic Christians, have perverted them and made them heretics, filling them with pride, and giving them to believe that they are progressing more than others "—probably a reference to the *alumbrados*.[2]

Only one hint is given in these pages of any distinction which the author draws between what came to be known later as acquired and infused contemplation.[3] This is where he divides " spiritual consolations and favours " into two classes. Some " proceed from the Holy Spirit that we may be fortified in righteousness and delivered from evil and made to forget these transitory, earthly things." The others derive " from the manner of study and exercises wherein we are occupied, rising thereby, as St. Paul says, from things visible to things invisible." [4] The distinction may be valid enough, but it is not developed sufficiently to be of much help to the traveller on the Mystic Way, nor does it take us very far towards the development to be achieved by the expositions of later writers.

The treatise on the Beatitudes, and their correspondence with the seven gifts of the Spirit, and with the Lord's Prayer, is called by P. Monasterio " a treatise truly and sublimely mystical." [5] It is true that the spirit in which it is written is devotional, and that the language used is closely allied at times to that of the mystics ; the same may be said of the three remaining treatises, but there is nothing distinctively mystical in their subject-matter unless it be in the advice which is

[1] *Opera*, ed. 1881, vol. vi, pp. 469–70.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 470.
[3] See pp. 303–6, below.
[4] *Ibid.* *Cf.* Romans, i, 20.
[5] *Místicos*, etc., pp. 93–4.

given to the novice on the active and the contemplative lives. " True contemplatives," says the Saint, " are few, and actives are more numerous, for contemplation is not given to all."

Wherefore, if thou seest that thy soul and spirit are not apt for ascending the mount of contemplation, do thou exercise thyself in the valley below. There thou mayest remain, and walk in the active life, which is good likewise, though it is of little value without the other. Exercise then thyself in contemplation as best thou mayest, though it be but little, for without this thy achievement would be small, nor couldst thou exercise thyself in the active life. Contemplation will help thee, and give thee wings that thou mayest exercise thyself in the active life. . . . But labour thou in this if thou canst not achieve that, for many would-be contemplatives neither attain to the contemplative life nor are content with the active life, and remain without either.[1]

A fine adjustment of the *rôles* of Martha and Mary, in which idealism is tempered by prudence, yet every encouragement is given to legitimate spiritual ambition.

[1] *Opera*, ed. 1881, vol. vi, pp. 506–7.

CHAPTER IV

THE TERESAN PERIOD: ST. PETER OF ALCÁNTARA

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I

So dominant was the personality of St. Teresa, and so lasting has been her influence upon Spanish mysticism, that it is difficult not to class as a " Teresan " any writer with whom she had close relations, irrespectively of which of the two principally influenced the other. If we may regard the Teresan period, with which the greater part of our first volume was concerned, as beginning with the earliest of these writers, it will be ushered in by the life and works of the great Franciscan, St. Peter of Alcántara (San Pedro de Alcántara).

St. Peter will always be remembered in the history of mysticism for the profoundness of his influence upon St. Teresa. If Francisco de Osuna, Bernardino de Laredo and other mystics guided her in prayer, and Juan de Ávila aided her in matters of literary judgment, St. Peter of Alcántara can claim the higher distinction of having been her counsellor in things spiritual and things material both. With the exception of two of her younger contemporaries—St. John of the Cross and Jerónimo Gracián—no man appears to have impressed himself upon her personality so forcibly as this old Franciscan friar, who first met her almost at the end of his long and strenuous life in religion, as preacher, founder and writer. Not only had the two many hopes and ideals in common—for both were pioneers in reform movements—but there existed between them an unusually strong and personal bond of attraction, which was not broken at the end of St. Peter's life.

He first came to see St. Teresa, at her own request, in the year 1558, when she was still in the Convent of the Incarnation at Ávila, a certain lady named Doña Guiomar de Ulloa having sought permission for Teresa to stay with her for a short time so that she might talk

with him of the doubts that were tormenting her. "The strange interest which the chroniclers could not but feel," says a modern biographer, "centred around this first memorable interview when the barefooted Franciscan Reformer of the past and the barefooted Carmelite Reformer of the future looked on each other's face for the first time in the Church of Sto. Tomé, has translated itself into the legend, not without its charm, of a brilliant star which hung over the city of Ávila during his stay within its walls, and only disappeared when he departed." [1]

The two saints, all unconscious that their meeting would so strike the dramatic sense of future biographers, talked long, not only of Teresa's desires and plans, which he warmly approved, but also of Fray Pedro's own history and experiences. This was the beginning of an intimacy as close as circumstances allowed; it is described in St. Teresa's autobiography and reflected in her other works. When she is in difficulties, she writes to Fray Pedro:

> Before we took any steps about it, we wrote to the holy Fray Pedro de Alcántara concerning all that was happening, and he counselled us not to fail to proceed, and gave us his opinion on everything.[2]

When she needs advice on her spiritual life she consults him, as we know from her autobiography and his letters,[3] or studies his writings:

> Someone mentioned to me a certain book by the holy Fray Pedro de Alcántara—for I think he is a holy man, and I should always be ruled by him, knowing how much he knows. We read

[1] G. Cunninghame Graham: *Santa Teresa* (London, 1907), p. 163.

[2] *Vida* [*de Santa Teresa*], chap. xxxii (*Obras*, ed. P. Silverio, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. i, p. 269).

[3] *Ibid.*, chap. xxvii (*Obras*, *ed. cit.*, vol. i, p. 208). *Cf.* St. Peter of Alcántara's two letters published by P. Silverio in *Obras*, *ed. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 125–7. The first of these is addressed to St. Teresa, a few months only before the Franciscan saint's death, advising her on spiritual matters of a general nature; the second is written to the Bishop of Avila, advising him of the foundation of San José, and begging him to look upon it with favour.

the book, and found that he says precisely the same thing as I, although not in these same words.[1]

It is thought by some that the first of the "relations" of her spiritual experiences is addressed to him, and he may well, in any case, have been acquainted with it.[2] Again and again she quotes his example and lauds his virtues[3]; laments his death, in words to be quoted hereafter[4]; and eulogizes his writings—which, in her *Constitutions*,[5] she laid down for reading—as follows:

He is the author of several little books on prayer (*unos libros pequeñicos de oración*) written in the vernacular, and now in common use, for, as he had practised it much, he wrote with very great profit for those who are given to it.[6]

And after his death Fray Pedro still aids her, as she believes, not only by his prayers, but by his presence and counsel:

On the same night, appeared to me the holy Fray Pedro de Alcántara, who was now dead. . . . I had already seen him twice since his death, and had perceived the great glory that was his; so that I was not afraid, but very glad, for he appeared always as a glorified body, full of great glory, and it gave me the greatest joy to see him. I remember that, on the first time that I saw him, he told me, among other things, of his great fruition

[1] *Moradas*, iv, chap. 3 (*Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 61). The reference is to the Prayer of Recollection and to the eighth *aviso* of St. Peter of Alcántara's *Tratado de la Oración y Meditación* (cf. *Survey*, pp. 82–5, 197–200).

[2] See *Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. xii–xiii, 3–11.

[3] E.g. *Vida*, chaps. xxx, xxxv, xxxvi (*Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 237–45, 297–8, 303), *Fundaciones*, vi (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 56). She quotes him as an example of supernatural "jubilation" or "folly" (Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, p. 200) in the *Mansions*: "I knew one named Fray Pedro de Alcántara . . . who did this very thing, and any who heard him accounted him a fool (*loco*). Ah, what happy folly (*locura*) was his, sisters! Would that God gave it to us all!" (*Moradas*, vi, chap. vi (*Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 142).

[4] See p. 103, below.

[5] *Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 5: "Tenga cuenta la Priora con que haya buenos libros, en especial *Cartujanos*, *Flos Sanctorum*, *Contemptus Mundi*, *Oratorio de religiosos*, los de Fray Luis de Granada, y del Padre Fray Pedro de Alcántara, porque es en parte tan necesario este mantenimiento para el alma como el comer para el cuerpo."

[6] *Vida*, chap. 30 (*Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 237–8).

of God, and how blessed had been the penance in which he had lived, and which had won for him such a prize.[1]

A man who could thus influence so great a soul as St. Teresa must deserve the closest study both as saint and mystic. We may first summarize the principal events in his life story.[2]

Pedro Garavito, like his contemporary Tomás García, changed his surname for that of his family home. He had been born, in 1499, at Alcántara, a small town in Extremadura, not many miles from the Portuguese frontier. From his earliest years, according to his Spanish biographers, he showed a marked predilection for the contemplative life, and it may be said at once that the stories which they tell of his incredible austerities, almost from his babyhood, must be read at length, and in the original, for their cumulative effect to be realized. "At four years of age," says Marcos de Alcalá in a typical passage, "the admirable Peter was already a giant in virtue. He would walk to the oratory, adoring his Creator in spirit and in truth; on entering it, he would kneel and repeat his prayers without moving; he would do reverence, with repeated genuflexions, to the images, and like another David pour out his spirit before God."[3] At this tender age, continues the narrative, he was in the habit of remaining at prayer for hours at a time, forgetting his meals, and wholly absorbed in heavenly converse.

More, perhaps, than is the case with any other Spanish mystic, the principal events of the life of St. Peter of Alcántara are obscured by such stories as these. Giles Willoughby, in the prologue to his translation, sums them up with commendable restraint, though insufficient vividness, by terming him "a man from his very cradle consecrated to Evangelical per-

[1] *Vida*, chap. xxxvi (*Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. i, p. 314).

[2] A convenient and efficient biographical summary will be found in the preface to P. Ubald d'Alençon's edition of the *Tratado de la Oración y Meditación* (Bibl., No. 1172). Some of the circumstantial detail of no general interest which is there given is omitted, for lack of space, from this outline.

[3] *Crónica*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1203), p. 34.

fection . . . a faithful labourer in Our Lord's vineyard, with great fidelity performing his commanded task." [1] To leave the matter there suffices for our purpose.

In spite of his absorbing devotion, young Pedro managed to begin his studies at home, and to complete them at the University of Salamanca. Originally intended for the profession of law—his subject at the University—he had realized, when still very young, that he was called to the religious life ; his parents, realizing it no doubt with equal clearness, made no great objection.

At Salamanca, Pedro laid the firm foundations of that asceticism in which he was to excel. It was when at home, however, during a vacation, that a vision of Our Lady, and the visit of two fathers of the reformed Franciscan Order, decided him to join the Discalced followers of St. Francis, whose new rule dated from approximately the year of his birth. At the indication of Fray Francisco de Fregenal, the recently appointed custodian [2] of Extremadura, whom he consulted, the boy—he was only sixteen—entered the Franciscan house of Manjarez (or Manjarretes), near the frontier of Portugal.

From the time of his reception, as a novice, in 1515, to that of his death, forty-seven years later, the stories of miracles, raptures and unheard-of austerities of which he is the subject abound in even greater measure than before. Some of the least repulsive and most credible are related by St. Teresa in her autobiography. " How good a man," she exclaims on hearing of his death, " has God taken from us in the blessed Fray Pedro de Alcántara ! The world cannot now suffer such perfection. . . . This holy man, as all know, performed the severest penances for forty-seven years. I will tell something of this, for I know it all to be true. . . . I think it was for forty years that he told me he had slept only an hour and a half between night and day, and

[1] *A Golden Treatise*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1162), preface.

[2] A custody (*custodia*) is a division of a Franciscan province, comprising a number of convents, the superior of which is termed a custodian (*custodio*).

that the conquering of sleep was the greatest penitential trial that he had at first had to endure, for which reason he always remained standing or kneeling. He slept in a sitting posture, with his head resting against a piece of wood which he had driven into the wall. Lie down, even if he wished, he could not, for his cell, as is well known, was no more than four and a half feet wide. In all these years, however strong the sun or heavy the rain, he never put on his hood ; nor wore aught on his feet, nor any clothes save a habit of coarse serge, as tight as he could bear it, with naught else on his bare flesh, and over it a mantle of the same stuff. . . . He normally took food once in every three days. . . . His poverty was extreme, and his mortification also in his youth. He told me that he was once three years in one of the houses of his Order without being able to recognize a single friar, save by his speech ; for he never raised his eyes, and knew not the way even to those places whither he was compelled to go, but followed the friars. This would be on his journeys. For many years he never looked at a woman. He told me that it mattered not to him whether he saw or no ; but he was very old [1] when I made his acquaintance, and his weakness was so extreme that he seemed to be made of the roots of trees." [2]

Though the number of the religious houses in which St. Peter of Alcántara lived makes the detailed narrative of his life a somewhat tedious one, the main facts of his career can be recounted in a very few lines. After making his profession, he was sent to the convent of Belvis, and, in 1519, to a new foundation at Badajoz, where, like St. Francis of Assisi, he took a share in the actual building of the house, and from time to time spent periods of solitude in a hermitage which he made for himself near the monastery. In 1524, he was ordained to the priesthood, and soon became known as a preacher. After holding two other charges, he was appointed Guardian (or Superior) of the important house

[1] Actually, he was only fifty-nine.

[2] *Vida* [*de Santa Teresa*], chap. xxvii (*Obras*, *ed. cit.*, vol. i, p. 214).

of Plasencia, in which office he continued until about 1535. In this last year he was sent as Guardian to La Lapa, in the province of Badajoz, where there was both a monastery and a hermitage.

His biographers assert that this change was made at St. Peter's own earnest request, and arose from his desire for greater solitude. This he now had without difficulty, and tradition makes him as devoted to La Lapa as Luis de Granada was to Escala Coeli.[1] Indeed, it was long believed that he wrote his *Treatise of Prayer and Meditation* there, soon after his appointment. It is now generally admitted, however, that while the book may well have been written there, it is in date at least twenty years later.

In 1538, Fray Pedro was elected Provincial of the Extremaduran province ; and, at the conclusion of his term of office, spent some years in Portugal, winning high favour in the court of John III. The narrative of his journeys now becomes too crowded for repetition in a summary. It includes a journey to Barcelona, where the Saint met the Marquis of Lombay (St. Francis Borja), a second period of residence at La Lapa, several missions in Portugal, frequent returns to the convent of Plasencia, and the foundation of numerous religious houses in both Portugal and Spain.

The year 1554, which marked the termination of one of Fray Pedro's periods of office, first as Definitor and then as Custodian, in his Order, marked also a kind of crisis in his life. He obtained, in this year, a brief from the Pope, permitting him to live as a hermit, and went first to La Lapa, and then to Santa Cruz de Cebollas, in the diocese of Coria. While at the latter place, he was offered a house at Pedroso, not far distant, by a nobly-born citizen of Ciudad Rodrigo, Don Rodrigo de Chaves, to whom had been dedicated the *Treatise of Prayer and Meditation*. He accepted the gift and, in the year 1557, founded at Pedroso a convent, the direction of which, together with the writing of the Constitutions of the Reform, appears to have absorbed

[1] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, p. 35.

his interest and attention. For when Charles V, having abdicated his throne and empire, asked him to come to Yuste as his confessor, he declined to do so, giving Pedroso as his reason.

In 1559, Fray Pedro was appointed Commissary General of the Discalced Franciscan Reform, which was comprised in the custody of St. Joseph. Two years later, the Reform had grown so greatly that the custody became a province. It is in these years, we may recall with interest, that the Franciscan reformer was in correspondence with St. Teresa.

Though he was not to see the further development of his Reform, he was enabled to die in harness. Too ill to walk, he nevertheless spent the first part of the year 1562 in the visitation of convents. His last sickness came upon him near Oropesa, and he died at Arenas (now called Arenas de San Pedro) on St. Luke's Day, October 18, 1562. His remains are still venerated in the Franciscan convent there. He was beatified in 1622 and canonized in 1669.

II

It may be asserted, without reasonable doubt, that St. Peter of Alcántara is the author of a number of books of devotion, of which all have been lost save one, the *Treatise of Prayer and Meditation*.[1] Strange as the disappearance of the remaining works undoubtedly is, the testimony of St. Teresa, who had met St. Peter of Alcántara and was keenly interested in all he did, is quite definite and can hardly be contradicted. She knew, as we have seen,[2] not one or two but several of St. Peter's books, and knew further that they were in common use. If more evidence as to his authorship of these books be needed, it will be found in the accounts

[1] The other extant works of the Saint being only a few letters (some of which are referred to elsewhere in this chapter) and the Constitutions written at Pedroso (Francisco de Madrid: *Bullarium*, vol. i, pp. 570–7: *cit.* P. Ubald—Bibl., No. 1172—p. xiv), the *Treatise* alone need be considered at length. The edition followed will be that of Madrid, 1919 (Bibl., No. 1159), referred to in the notes as *Trat.*

[2] P. 101, above.

of the processes of beatification and canonization. Pedro de Guadalupe, for example, on December 3, 1615, deposes that " the books which the said holy Fray Pedro wrote on prayer and meditation are the milk on which the novices of this Order are fed." [1] There seems no need to multiply such testimony, for there is no single piece of positive evidence to the contrary which can be set against it.

That all but one of these books should have disappeared is as remarkable a fact as that, of the single book which survived, the greater number of the earliest editions should have disappeared also. Possibly the reason for this last phenomenon is to be found in its very popularity, which scattered in humble homes the copies of each successive edition and caused the later reprints, which are still extant, to be made, as substitutes for the editions which frequent use had all but completely destroyed.

The *Treatise of Prayer and Meditation* is indeed, in St. Teresa's language, a " little book " : it contains scarcely more than twenty thousand words, and the current popular edition will fit into the waistcoat pocket. St. Peter of Alcántara claims no originality, in the strict and modern literary sense of the word, for his little manual. In his prologue (omitted from certain editions and translations), as well as in the title of the book, he uses the word *recopilado* (" compiled "), and, even in the editions which mention no author by name, makes it quite clear that the treatise is a summary and compilation of other men's works :

> And having read many books upon this matter, I have briefly extracted and compiled that which I have found best and most profitable.[2]

His aim is to write for the poor and simple, whom current books on mental prayer cannot reach :

> I had never been moved to compile (*recopilar*) this brief treatise, nor to consent to its publication, were it not for the

[1] *Cit.*, P. Michel-Ange, *art. cit.*, Bibl., No. 1205, pp. 139–40.
[2] *Trat.*, p. 3 (Dedicatory Prologue).

numerous times that your Honour [Rodrigo de Chaves] has exhorted me to write somewhat of prayer that should be brief and compendious and clear, and of profit to all; for being of small bulk and price, it would advantage the poor, who are not able to read more costly books, and, being written with clarity, it would profit the simple, who have no great store of understanding.[1]

It has been known for a long time that the *Golden Treatise* (for we may allow it the title which it has borne in England for three centuries) has many points of resemblance with a much longer treatise by Luis de Granada on the same subject.[2] Not only is the general plan of the two works practically the same, but there are verbal resemblances which make it certain, on internal evidence alone, that one of these authors used another, the alternative that both might have used a third work no longer extant being unsupported by evidence. The question is not wholly decided by St. Peter of Alcántara's admission quoted above, nor even, if we allow its authenticity, by a more definite one to be quoted shortly. For, as has already been pointed out in these studies, religious writers, attaching but small importance to the idea of literary ownership, would describe as compilations works which were, in parts at least, original, yet would incorporate in their mainly original compositions long passages from predecessors or contemporaries, making only the vaguest of acknowledgments, or even none at all. So Franciscans have not hesitated to call Luis de Granada the plagiarist, though the Dominicans have certainly found more supporters for their hypothesis to the contrary.

Since 1888, the authorship of the treatise has been debated almost continuously, the claims of the late Fray Justo Cuervo, O.P., in favour of Luis de Granada having been so bold and downright as to provoke considerable controversy.[3] His claims are that Fray

[1] *Trat.*, pp. 1–2 (*ibid.*).

[2] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 40–5.

[3] For the chief contributions to this debate the student is referred to the Bibliography of St. Peter of Alcántara (section iv), below. In the summary of it which follows, detailed references to each contribution are not given.

Luis' *Book of Prayer and Meditation*, first published in 1554, was copied and summarized by Fray Pedro, and that he himself admits this, in a version of which the exact date is unknown, but which P. Cuervo places at between April 1556 and Lent 1558. As to the admission, which occurs in the dedicatory prologue to the Lisbon edition of *c.* 1558, at the place where other editions of the *Golden Treatise* print the more general confession quoted above, there is no doubt about its meaning, and it may be given here as it stands :

> Having read, among other devout books in the vulgar tongue (*romance*), the Book of Prayer recently composed by the very reverend father Fray Luis de Granada . . . I determined to make use of it, and to put into this treatise, as briefly and as clearly as I might, all that this work contains which is needful for prayer, and other things for those that are more proficient (*aprovechados*). . . . And even those who have that work may keep and retain it the better in their memories through seeing this brief summary of that which the other work details at greater length.

Fray Luis (continues P. Cuervo's argument) emended and enlarged this version after a time, at the request of one Juan Blavio, a printer. Thus, the *Treatise of Prayer and Meditation*, " published more than a hundred times under the name of St. Peter of Alcántara," belongs " solely and exclusively to Fray Luis de Granada." St. Peter's actual and original summary of Fray Luis' treatise, he claims, is that which he found in the Barberini Library at Rome, and which, since his death, has been published,[1] so that students may independently form their own conclusions. The summary, in revised form, was published at Alcalá in 1558, and, in a dedicatory note, Fray Martín de Lilio, who " corrected and added to it," describes Luis de Granada as composing books of prayer in the vernacular " in right good style," and St. Peter of Alcántara as " compiling a brief compendium for the profit of wise and simple."[2] Many no doubt will accept this argument as practically reducing St. Peter of Alcántara's contribution to mystical literature to an

[1] See Bibl., No. 1161.

[2] *Ed. cit.*, p. 3.

unintelligent piece of plagiarism, and will agree with P. Cuervo's triumphant and picturesque conclusion that the Franciscan saint "looks down from Heaven and refutes all the eulogies paid by those who call him 'mystic' and 'doctor illuminate'—eulogies which belong and should rightly be paid to the Venerable Fray Luis de Granada, true and sole author of the *Book of Prayer*." [1]

There is, in our view, no doubt at all that Fray Pedro did adapt Fray Luis de Granada's book. The full evidence is more convincing even than the statement in the Lisbon edition, while the attempts made by the learned French Capuchin, P. Michel-Ange, to represent Granada as the copyist, to explain away the Lisbon admission, and to enforce the Franciscan tradition, supported by a statement of Marchese in 1617, that the *Treatise* was written about 1535, when Fray Pedro *first* went to Lapa, are generally acknowledged to have failed. P. Ubald d'Alençon, O.F.M., who yields nothing to P. Michel-Ange in his devotion to the Franciscan saint, admits freely that he would like to adopt the early date, but can simply find no first-hand evidence whatever for the tradition which P. Michel-Ange attractively terms "trois fois séculaire." [2]

On the other hand, it is not easy for the unprejudiced student to go as far as P. Cuervo. It is quite clear that the book as we have it is a genuine and extremely intelligent adaptation of Fray Luis de Granada's book which was made by St. Peter of Alcántara. At least three editions of it appeared under his name during his lifetime; St. Teresa knew him as its author and ranked him on the same level as Luis de Granada; his biographers write of it and some of them quote from it; and Luis de Granada himself, who acknowledged that his work had been adapted by others, seems never, in the thirty years between 1558 and his death, to have protested against the attribution of the brief treatise to

[1] *Biografía*, etc. (Bibl., No. 315), pp. 251–2.

[2] *Traité*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1172), p. xx. *Cf.* arts. (Bibl., Nos. 1226–8), *passim*.

Fray Pedro. Besides the enlarged edition of his book which Luis de Granada published in 1566 and to which allusion is made above, he issued a summary of his own (*Recopilación breve del Libro de la Oración*) in 1574, perhaps with the help of Fray Pedro's summary, in which he makes what appears to be a clear reference to Fray Pedro's dedicatory letter to Rodrigo de Chaves. If this is so, he must have known Fray Pedro as the author of the *Golden Treatise*, though he speaks merely of "certain virtuous and zealous persons" as being responsible for summaries of his book.[1]

The calmness and unconcern of Luis de Granada, whose one desire was that the world should profit by his writings, in whatever form they might be issued, has unfortunately not been imitated by those whose main desire has been to defend the originality of his work, or to attack his defenders. From the often unnecessarily heated discussions of the last forty years there seem to us to emerge the following probabilities, corresponding approximately to those adumbrated by P. Ubald d'Alençon. First, the *Treatise of Prayer and Meditation*, as we now have it, is the work of St. Peter of Alcántara, being the definitive version of a compilation made by him in about the year 1556 from the larger book of Fray Luis de Granada. Secondly, this *Treatise* is in no sense a servile copy of certain portions of Luis de Granada's book, but, as the long discussions on the subject amply prove, a highly practical compilation from, and adaptation of, the whole, a fact which accounts for its popularity extending over three and a half centuries.

III

In the long war of words between Franciscans and Dominicans on this question of the authorship of the *Treatise of Prayer and Meditation*, too little has been said of the merits of the book itself, which, whatever be the precise history of its origins, is one of the finest books

[1] Cf. *Obras de Fray Luis de Granada*, Madrid, 1906–8, vol. x, pp. 443–520; vol. xi, pp. 441–63.

of devotion in the Spanish language. "Though small in size it is great in quality," said the commissary of the Inquisition in writing of the re-discovered Alcalá version, and the saying, current in our own country, that it takes a great man to write a small book, may be regarded as the corollary of their judgment.

Putting controversy aside, let us now follow the example of St. Teresa, who in her *Constitutions* recommended both Luis de Granada and St. Peter of Alcántara for devotional reading, without a thought of any rivalry between them. Let us study the *Golden Treatise*—for it will repay intensive study, both by the general reader, for its intrinsic merits, and by critics and historians who are interested in the progress which the type of devotional literature that it represents was making in Spain.

A rapid analysis of the book shows that the greater part of it is concerned with the lower stages of the mystical life, as are the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. It resembles that book, further, in the orderliness and method of its arrangement, in the stress which it lays on meditation and in its passing from the end of man to the Humanity of Christ. On the other hand, it lacks the careful progression of the Ignatian meditations and makes much more infrequent use of the imaginative powers.[1] Beginning with a description of the profit gained by meditation and prayer (Part I, chapter i), it suggests subjects for meditation—in particular, seven, one for each day of the week (I, ii–iii).[2] These are followed by subjects for meditation connected with the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, together with directions for each exercise (I, iv).[3] Next, the reader learns the best method of making a meditation and the preparation which is required, the six preparatory

[1] It does, nevertheless, distinguish between "intellectual" and "imaginary" meditation (I, viii) and make clear the advantages of each, describing the latter much in the language of St. Ignatius.

[2] Viz., sin, human misery, death, judgment, hell, glory and the goodness of God. Heads are given for each meditation.

[3] Viz., the Washing of the Feet and Last Supper; the Agony and the Captivity; the Denial and the Scourging; the Crown of Thorns and Bearing of the Cross; the Seven Words; the Descent and Burial; the Resurrection and Ascension.

steps being described in turn (I, v–xi). The first part of the book concludes with eight *avisos* (I, xii), a few essential words from each of which may be quoted :

1. We must not be so much bound to one exercise that we think it ill to leave it for another, if we find in the other more devotion, pleasure (*gusto*) or profit ; for, as the end of them all is devotion, that which is of the greatest service to this end is the best.

2. Let a man labour in this exercise to avoid over much speculation of the understanding, and endeavour to practise it with the affections and with the feelings of the will rather than with reasonings and speculations of the understanding.

3. Nor must the will be excessive or over-vehement, for . . . the devotion that we desire to gain cannot be acquired by force (*a fuerza de brazos*).

4. The attention must be moderated and tempered, lest the health be impaired and devotion hindered.

5. But the chief of all these warnings (*avisos*) is that he who prays should not faint, nor desist from his exercise when he feels not immediately that sweetness (*blandura*) of devotion that he desires.

6. Nor is it less needful to warn the servant of God not to be content with any small pleasure (*gustillo*) that he may find in prayer.

7. When the soul is visited, in prayer, or apart from it, by some special visitation from the Lord, let this never be permitted to pass in vain, but let the soul profit thereby, for it is certain that with such a favourable breeze a man may sail farther in one day than in many days without it.

8. Let the last and chiefest counsel be that we endeavour in this holy exercise to join meditation with contemplation, making the one a step whereby we may rise to the other.

The last of these *avisos* is, from the mystical standpoint, the most important passage in the book.[1] To " contemplation " is assigned neither its peculiar Ignatian meaning nor the comprehensive significance attached to it in mediaeval writers. The " office of meditation " is " to consider studiously and attentively Divine things . . . as though one should strike a flint, to draw a spark

[1] It is translated in its entirety in *Survey*, pp. 82–5, and reproduced in the original on pp. 197–200.

from it." Contemplation " is as though the spark were already struck—that is to say, that the feeling and affection which were sought have been attained. The soul is enjoying repose and silence, not by many reasonings and speculations of the understanding, but simply by gazing at the truth." [1]

The business of contemplation is never mere rest and passivity, and no Spanish writer makes this clearer than St. Peter of Alcántara. The understanding, it is true, must " rest in the arms of contemplation " ; the imagination must be stilled and the memory forbidden to wander ; the part of speculation is, for the time being, over. In contemplation there is thus a degree of rest ; there is also a phase of fruition. But the affections are occupied and the memory is fixed upon God. The aspirant is to " consider how he is in His presence," to make " no speculations upon the secret things of God," but to " apply his will and his love." [2] Two fuller quotations will show clearly how truly busy the soul is in this state of apparent rest.

From this may be inferred a well-known precept, which is taught by all masters of the spiritual life (though but ill understood by those that read it) : to wit, that as the means are done with when the end is reached, as the boat is still when it comes to its port, even so when man, by means of the labour of meditation, arrives at a state of rest and at the enjoyment of contemplation, he should forthwith cease from that toilsome and pious enquiry. And, content with gazing upon and remembering God—as though he had Him present—he may enjoy those feelings which are given him, be they of love, or wonder, or joy, or other such. The reason for this counsel is that the end of the whole matter consists rather in love, and the affection of the will, than in speculation of the understanding, and, when the will is taken and captured by this affection, we should therefore dispense with all reasonings and speculations of the understanding, in so far as we may, to the end that our soul, with all its strength, may be occupied in this one thing, and not disperse its strength by acts of the other powers.[3]

Scarcely is there anything which the understanding can know of God,—only the will can greatly love Him. Let a man im-

[1] *Trat.*, pp. 156–7. [2] *Trat.*, pp. 157–8. [3] *Trat.*, pp. 158–9.

prison himself within his own self, in the centre of his soul, wherein is the image of God, and there let him wait upon Him, as one listens to another speaking from some high tower, or as though he had Him within his heart, and as if in all creation there were no other thing save God and his soul.[1]

In contemplation, St. Peter of Alcántara sees the highest point which can be attained in this life[2]: he neither describes nor hints at any degree of Union. Contemplation is not to be pursued continuously, for long periods of time, both to avoid peril to the health of the body and for the sake of the ultimate benefit to the soul. Though a soul finding itself suddenly immersed in contemplation should not resist the impulse, and return to meditation or vocal prayer, it is equally true that periodical alternation of meditation and contemplation is good for the soul. In his insistence upon this, St. Peter of Alcántara anticipates St. Teresa's similitude of the Waters.

We should make this pause and enjoy this great benefit, and then return to our labour, having tasted and digested this one morsel. Just so the gardener, watering a patch of ground, after filling it with water, turns off the flow of the current and allows the water to soak in and disperse itself over the depths of the earth; when all that it has received is drained away, the gardener turns on the flow from the spring once more, that it may receive more and more, and be the better watered.[3]

The second part of the treatise defines devotion, detailing very briefly ("con nuestra acostumbrada brevedad") nine helps and ten hindrances to devotion (II, i–iii), nine temptations and their remedies (II, iv) and, finally, eight counsels (II, v), which, like those in the first part of the book, bring the part to a close. The substance of these counsels may be extracted and set down here, in view both of their significance and of their intrinsic value.

1. Many persons, attracted by the force of the marvellous sweetness of God (which is above all that can be described),

[1] *Trat.*, p. 160. [2] *Trat.*, p. 162. [3] *Trat.*, p. 161.

approach Him, and give themselves to all spiritual exercises, to reading, prayer and the use of the sacraments, by reason of the great joy that they find therein, so that the chief end which draws them is the desire for this marvellous sweetness. This is a universal and grievous error into which many fall. For the chief end of all our works should be to love and to seek God.

2. And if we should not desire spiritual consolations and delights that we may rest in them alone, but rather for the profit that they bring us, much less are visions or revelations to be desired, or raptures (*arrobamientos*) and suchlike things, which may be very perilous to those that are not rooted in humility.

3. Likewise a man must be counselled to be silent concerning such graces and favours as Our Lord may show him, save only to his spiritual master.

4. Likewise a man must see that he treat with God with the greatest humility and reverence possible to him, so that the soul may never receive graces and favours of God without turning its gaze within itself, and beholding its vileness, and folding its wings and humbling itself before such great Majesty.

5. The servant of God must labour to set apart times wherein he may wait upon Him. . . . He must put aside all kinds of business, at certain seasons, even sacred things, that he may devote himself wholly to spiritual exercises, and give to his soul abundant pasture.

6. It is fitting in all these things to have moderation . . . that we may set about our journey in such wise as not to fail ere it is half over.

7. Another peril is there also, and belike a greater one than all that have gone before : namely, that many persons, after they have experienced a number of times the inestimable virtue of prayer, and found by experience that all the harmony of the spiritual life depends upon it, think that it alone is all. . . . But the servant of God must look, not at one virtue only, but at all the virtues.

8. All these things that have been set down to aid devotion must be taken as instruments wherewith a man prepares himself for Divine grace, busying himself diligently with them, but setting his trust, not in them, but in God alone.

The *Golden Treatise* has certain well-defined characteristics which give it an individuality as unmistakable as that of many a more nearly original work. As a practical manual for devout yet imperfect souls it is

surpassed by few contemporary treatises. It is an intensely invigorating work, not only from its stringent economy of word and phrase, but because it contains neither soft counsels nor smooth doctrines, because it trains those who study it to endure hardness and to cultivate detachment. It is sufficient illustration of this to point to the first set of *avisos* quoted above, which give the tone of all St. Peter of Alcántara's teaching.

Yet it must not be thought that St. Peter lays overmuch stress on the purely physical aspect of mortification. He himself was an almost terrifyingly strict ascetic. "My body and I," he is reported to have said, "have made a compact: while I live in this world it is to suffer without intermission, and, when I reach Heaven I will give it eternal rest." In a work composed, or compiled, by this man, we might expect to find, if anywhere, an over-insistence upon physical endurance. But in actual fact, while he approves "the poor table, the hard bed, the hair-shirt and the discipline and other such things," he also counsels moderation in bodily discipline, and with the greatest emphasis:

> Many there are who think that grace is being given to them abundantly, and find communion with the Lord so sweet that they devote themselves to it entirely, lengthening their hours of prayer and vigils and bodily severities so much that nature can no longer suffer so great and constant a burden, and breaks down under it.
>
> Whence it comes to pass that many a one harms his stomach or his head, and becomes incapable, not only of performing other bodily labours, but also of practising these very exercises of prayer.
>
> Wherefore it is fitting to have much tact in these things, and especially at the beginning, when fervour is greatest and consolations are most frequent, and there is less of experience and discretion. In such a way we shall arrange the manner of our journey so as not to faint half way.[1]

The most striking characteristic of St. Peter of Alcántara's *Treatise* is undoubtedly the skill with which it has been selected and presented. It is given us in short

[1] *Trat.*, pp. 200–1. This is part of the sixth *aviso* of II, v, the essence of which was quoted on p. 116, above.

chapters, in simple language, and in sentences which (for his time) are unusually brief. His counsels are terse and emphatic, his illustrations generally homely (occasionally to the point of crudeness), and always vivid and clear. We can well believe that, as Giles Willoughby has it, he was a master at "explicating the Holy Scripture":

> In the third place, think how frail and easily broken is this life, and thou shalt find that there is no vessel of glass so delicate, since a wind, a hot sun, a jug of cold water, the breath of a sick man suffice to despoil us of it.[1]
>
> If an ox bellows when they separate it from another ox with which it ploughs, how great a bellow will come from thy heart when thou art parted from all those in whose company thou didst bear upon thy shoulders the yoke of the burdens of this life![2]
>
> As the north wind scatters the clouds, leaving the sky serene and unencumbered, even so does true devotion shake off all this heaviness and difficulty, leaving it without embarrassment and ready to do any good thing.[3]

Vividness is the principal weapon with which the *Treatise* drives home the truths of what, in Ignatian language, are the first "week's" meditations. It describes, in all their detail, the "accidents" of a last illness and death: "the breast heaves, the voice becomes hoarse, the feet grow numbed, the nostrils shrink, the eyes become sunken, the face grows deathly pale, and the tongue can no longer do its office."[4] The body is taken to burial; the soul goes to judgment: all this is described in the same way. Needless to add that the terrors of Hell follow—the torments meted out to adulterous eyes, blasphemous tongues and lascivious senses. "The imagination shall suffer in apprehension of present pains; the memory, in the remembering of pleasures past; the understanding, in representing evils to come; and the will, with the grievous wrath and fury that the wicked shall have against God."[5] The same

[1] *Trat.*, p. 23 (I, ii).
[2] *Trat.*, p. 30 (I, ii).
[3] *Trat.*, p. 167 (II, i).
[4] *Trat.*, p. 34 (I, ii).
[5] *Trat.*, p. 44 (I, ii). In this connexion the admission of P. Ubald (*Traité*, etc., p. xxvi), is of interest: "Dirai-je toute ma pensée? Le *Traité* me semble insister plus sur l'idée de crainte que sur celle d'amour, surtout dans la première partie. A ce point de vue, il n'est pas tout-à-fait dans la note franciscaine."

forceful imagination dwells upon the details of the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ with even more fullness than in the passages quoted above. It is in its meditations on the Passion that this practical and unpretentious little manual most nearly approaches eloquence, and in these also that it most frequently recalls St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* and their method of " contemplation " with the mind's eye.

Though the affinities of St. Peter of Alcántara have tempted us to class him as a Teresan, it is evident that his " little book on prayer " is a Franciscan contribution to that particular type of pre-Teresan literature which is represented also in other religious orders by the works of García de Cisneros, St. Ignatius of Loyola and Luis de Granada. These authors do little more than glance from afar at the mystical life in its higher stages : they show little sign in their writings of that first-hand experience of mental prayer which we know that some at least of them could claim. Not infrequently they rely entirely on the works of early Christian or mediaeval teachers for their descriptions of mental prayer in its less general aspects. But by laying firm and true foundations they did as good service to the mystics who were to follow them as did Laredo and Osuna in providing distinct and separate parts of the material for the subsequent building. As the sixteenth century went on, this type of semi-mystical literature grew less frequent. But it left a mark upon the period following its decline which is easily recognizable and to which any adequate bibliography will bear testimony. The *Golden Treatise*, reprinted again and again in Spanish, was also translated into many foreign languages [1] and quoted by

[1] Testimony to its popularity of a very remarkable kind is borne by Lafuente in his edition of it published in 1882 (Bibl., No. 1157), pp. xxxiii–xxxv. He quotes Fray Juan de San Bernardo, who writes (1666) of editions which have had circulation in France, Flanders, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Ireland and England. " In Poland it has borne much fruit," says this witness. " In Rome, Savoy, Naples, Sicily and other Italian states it has on various occasions been printed, and has even reached the West and East Indies, the Philippines, Japan and China, each nation translating it into its own language." Lafuente adds details of a " brief summary " of the *Treatise* made for Christians of the

many authors, among whom may be reckoned most, if not all, of the great Spanish mystics. Thus, in its popularity and influence, as well as in its content and form, it may serve as a typical pre-Teresan treatise which St. Teresa was the first of the greater mystics to recommend.

Philippines at the end of the sixteenth century by a Franciscan named Juan de Garrovillas. And, after mentioning versions in Chinese and Japanese, he concludes: "In the religious archives of Manila exist numerous anonymous translations, most of them in manuscript, in nearly all the Philippine dialects."

CHAPTER V

THE TERESAN PERIOD: JUAN DE AVILA

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I

Juan de Ávila was born at Almodóvar del Campo, the only son of well-to-do parents, on January 6, 1500. Of his boyhood, we only know that, at the age of fourteen, he went to Salamanca University to study law ; that at the end of four years he abandoned his studies,[1] having found his vocation to be for the priesthood ; and that, after spending two years at home in seclusion, possibly in order to test it, he went up to Alcalá University in 1520. Here he studied in the faculties of arts and theology, in part under the famous master Domingo de Soto. While at Alcalá he lost both his parents, but apart from this fact, and from a few anecdotes of no importance, we hear nothing more of him until 1525, in which year he was ordained to the priesthood.

Some two years after his ordination, he determined to devote himself to foreign missionary work, and to that end travelled to Seville, with the intention of embarking for America, the newly appointed Bishop of Tlaxcala, in Mexico, having offered to take him. There were also, however, those who wished him to remain in Europe, and one of them, P. Hernando de Contreras, a preacher of great celebrity, prevailed upon the Archbishop of Seville to keep him in Andalucía. So, as it proved, the year 1528 saw the beginning of a forty years' service, not in America, but at home, which won for Juan de Ávila the title of " Apostle of Andalucía."

His first sermon in his new office of public preacher was delivered on July 22, 1529 ; his first book, *Audi*,

[1] This is one of the few biographical details to be gleaned from Juan de Ávila's own writings. " Bastarían mis cuatro años que estudié de leyes " (*Obras*, ed. Fernández Montaña, Madrid, 1901—the edition used in this chapter, and referred to as *Obras*—vol. i, p. 684).

Filia[1] (less commonly known as *Libro Espiritual*), was written, though not published, in 1530. From this time onward we find him preaching in the Sevilian archdiocese and in various other parts of Andalucía—in Córdoba (1535–6, 1544, 1546, 1549–51), Granada and Guadalcázar (1537), Baeza (*c.* 1539–40), Montilla (1545), Zafra (1546), Alcalá de Guadaira, Jerez, Palma and Ecija. His life was in no way eventful. A brush with the Inquisition (1532–3), before which he was denounced as a friend of Lutheranism, caused him to spend a few months in prison, and is no doubt partly responsible for the frequency and violence of his references to Lutheranism in his later writings.[2] He was eventually, however, unanimously pronounced guiltless and set at liberty.[3]

About the year 1550 he seems to have begun to suffer from ill-health,[4] to which he not infrequently refers in his letters. "I can tell you from my own experience," is the trend of these references, "how bitter illness can be, especially when accompanied by pain."[5] We now find him more and more in Córdoba and Montilla, and engaged less in public preaching than in the spiritual direction of noble families, such as that of his friend the Conde de Feria. At the same time there date from this period some of his best sermons, including that preached in 1555 at the opening of the Jesuit College of Córdoba, which he had founded in the year preceding.

Up to this time, Juan de Ávila had published nothing, nor written anything, save the *Audi*, *Filia*, a treatise on the Ten Commandments and some letters[6]; and indeed the greater part of his works were not published until after his death, by his disciples. In

[1] Referred to in the notes below as *A.F.*

[2] E.g., *A.F.*, chaps. 22, 23, 46, 49; *Del Sacramento*, etc., *Trats.* 13, 19 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 79, 84, 144, 153; vol. iii, pp. 218, 378).

[3] Cf. *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 445–51.

[4] *Cf.* prologue to *A.F.* (1557): "Mi enfermedad continua de casi ocho años" (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 23).

[5] *Epistolario Espiritual* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 575).

[6] *A.F.*, prólogo (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 24).

1556, however, the *Audi, Filia* was issued piratically by the well-known publisher, Juan de Brocar, of Alcalá. At the time, Juan de Ávila was ill, but, so soon as he recovered, he decided to bring out an authoritative edition, "so that the other might be discredited."[1] This he revised at Montilla, and subsequently published. During this time which he spent at Montilla, he founded another college for the Jesuits, with whom he was in close and frequent relations. He had also made over to them (1554) an independent college which he had founded at Baeza, and it seems likely that he would himself have joined their still young Society had he not feared that his age and infirmity would be a hindrance to it rather than a help.[2] As it was, he joined no religious order all his life.

In 1563–4, we find Juan de Ávila once more in Córdoba: the "Addresses to Priests" (*Pláticas para sacerdotes*) which are included in most of the editions of his works appear to have been given at a synod held at Córdoba Cathedral in 1563. The fact that he wrote a number of letters from Montilla during 1566 and 1568 suggests that he spent much of the last three years of his life there. He died, after a last illness of a few months only, on May 10, 1569, and was buried at the Montilla college of his foundation. The history of the events leading up to his beatification covers nearly three centuries and is of very small importance. The beatification was accomplished under Leo XIII in 1894.[3]

II

None of the writers treated in these volumes can claim a wider acquaintance with the outstanding religious personalities of his epoch than Juan de Ávila, nor, perhaps, did any wield a stronger influence upon them. In the first place, it is well known that he was one of the most trusted counsellors of St. Teresa. Only two of his letters to her are extant, dating from shortly

[1] *A.F.*, prólogo (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 24). [2] *Cf.* p. 126, below.
[3] Cf. *Obras*, vol. i, pp. xxiii–xxvii, xxxi–xxxvii; vol. iii, pp. 557–79.

before his death.[1] But as we make our way through the volumes of her own correspondence, we find her sending him the second draft of the *Book of her Life* (towards the end of 1565),[2] hearing with concern of the serious condition of his health (May 27, 1568),[3] expressing her relief at the favourableness of his judgment (November 2, 1568)[4] and many years later (May 24, 1581) eulogizing his published sermons.[5]

Luis de Granada, Ávila's most famous biographer, is said to have confessed that he owed more to his counsels than to many years of study.[6] He certainly thought very highly of him, for the greater part of his biography is so full of eulogy that quotation from it is hardly practicable. St. Ignatius of Loyola esteemed him greatly,[7] and would gladly, it seems, have received him into the Society of Jesus, for which he expressed "desire and affection" as deep as his admiration for its founder.[8] St. Francis Borja, when General of the Society, exchanged letters with Juan de Ávila, who had been the preacher at the celebrated funeral service which led to the Saint's conversion (1539) and on whose advice he became a Jesuit.[9] To St. John of God (San Juan de Dios), one of his own converts,[10] Juan de Ávila wrote many letters full of affection and concern for his welfare,[11] as to one whom God has "united to him in brotherhood and love."[12]

It may possibly be to the closeness of his relations with so many great mystics of his day that Juan de Ávila owes his time-honoured inclusion in their number. Even more properly than Luis de Granada he must be

[1] *Obras de Santa Teresa*, ed. P. Silverio, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. ii, pp. 207–10.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, pp. 13–14. *Cf.* vol. i, pp. cxix–cxxiii; vol. vii, pp. 17, 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 33.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 61.
[6] Juan de Ávila: *Obras*, vol. i, p. xvi; vol. ii, pp. 423–9.
[7] *Obras*, vol. i, pp. xiii–xiv.
[8] Cf. *Obras*, vol. i, pp. 670–2. Cf. *Cartas*, etc. (Bibl., No. 101), vol. ii, pp. 159–66.
[9] *Obras*, vol. i, pp. xiv–xv. Cf. *Obras*, vol. i, pp. 674–6.
[10] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 480–92.
[11] *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 167–72.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

termed primarily an ascetic writer.[1] He came into contact mainly with people in the world, leading of necessity an active life. For such he preached ; for such he chiefly wrote ; for such, indeed, it may be said, he lived.

The most ridiculous claims have been made for him, even by the editors of his works and by others who may be assumed to have read them. " Each [of his letters]," says P. Fernández Montaña, for example, " is a profound treatise of mystical theology." [2] But a summary of his principal writings will show that none of them is in the main mystical. His first book, the *Audi, Filia*, must contain much of the spirit, if not of the actual substance, of his earliest sermons. Addressed to a Doña Sancha Carrillo, a " religious maiden " of the royal court, who became a nun,[3] and who, when the book was published, had long been dead,[4] it is bland and affectionate in tone, as for that matter Juan de Ávila's writings and sermons always tend to be. Its aim is well expressed in its sub-title : " Treats of the evil conversations of the world, the flesh and the devil and the remedies against them. Of faith and self-knowledge ; of penitence, prayer and meditation ; of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of one's neighbour." Not one of its hundred and thirteen chapters is concerned with the higher stages of mental prayer, nor with anything going beyond meditation.

The *Spiritual Letters* [5] of Juan de Ávila were first published by his followers, Juan de Villarés and Juan Díaz, in 1578. In 1604, after several editions had appeared, they were re-issued, according to a threefold thematic classification, and, in 1618, were re-arranged in four similar divisions, which is their modern form. Although, as we shall show later, there are mystical passages in the two hundred and seven letters now

[1] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, p. 54.

[2] *Obras*, vol. i, p. xxvii. He has even been termed the " founder of Spanish mysticism." (Cf. *Ciudad de Dios*, 1891, vol. xxv, p. 355 n., and p. 141, below.)

[3] *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 492–501.

[4] *Audi, Filia*, prólogo (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 23).

[5] *Epistolario Espiritual*, referred to in the notes below as *E.E.*

extant, their general tone is as little mystical as that of the *Audi, Filia*. He writes them "the Lord knows in the midst of how many occupations, now taking up my pen, now setting it down again."[1] The first book, addressed to clergy and religious, includes letters to his old schoolfellow Pedro Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, to St. John of God, to St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Francis Borja and a number of other Jesuits: their chief themes are government, mortification and sacerdotal functions. The second book, addressed mainly to nuns and to girls preparing to take the veil, deals largely with the individual spiritual life and contains much that is to our purpose. The third book comprises letters to "ladies of title, ladies in the world, ladies married and widowed": this, and the fourth book, which is addressed to men in similar situations, go outside the active life hardly at all.

Further works of Juan de Ávila yield little more for our consideration. A clumsily entitled *Book of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, of the Holy Spirit and of Our Lady the Virgin Saint Mary*, has twenty-seven chapters on the first theme, five on the second and fourteen on the third. The two *Addresses to Priests* already mentioned, and some further addresses delivered in Zafra, occasionally quote from mystical writers, but themselves hardly fringe the mystical. The remaining opuscules are not more helpful.

Is it, then, merely for his connexion with St. Teresa, St. Ignatius and other mystics that Juan de Ávila has found his way into their company? We cannot think so; but, if that should indeed have been the reason, it is a happy chance which has brought it to pass. As we read the glowing passages of Ávila's prose, not only those, "like so many burning coales, which might serve to seare those soules which are full of festred soares,"[2] but also those which set one "on fire with the love of Almighty God,"[3] we feel the instinct of his past com-

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 119).
[2] *Rich Cabinet*, etc., preface to the . . . reader (Bibl., No. 1264), fol. 3r.
[3] *Ibid.* Cf. *Survey*, p. 19.

mentators to have been a true one. However conscientiously the historian may endeavour to circumscribe the term "mystic," it is impossible in practice to restrict it to those who have written in set terms of supernatural prayer. It must perforce be extended to include others whom the circumstances of their lives forbade to climb far up the mount of contemplation, but who are deeply imbued with the contemplative spirit; who must be excluded by such rigid definitions as this or that writer may choose to formulate, but claim inclusion from the simple fact that they have "fallen in love with God." [1]

III

The profoundly spiritual tone of Juan de Ávila's writings, and especially of a few of his incomparable letters, is the outcome of his own deep love for God and the noble conception with which it inspires him of the individual Christian life, whether lived in the cloister or in the world. His love burns perhaps most brightly in his treatise on the Eucharist, where he allows himself for chapters together—and most of all in the initial chapter—to contrast the "marvellous love of God" with the "marvellous blindness" of man,[2] and to testify to the piercing of his own heart by "love's arrow." [3] His ideal of Christianity, both in the cloister and in the world, is expounded in the *Audi, Filia* and in his *Letters*. We must not only "abound in good works," he teaches, but also "make ready our hearts" for God, and "love repose and silence, that we may treat with Him of His business." [4] It is a "gentleman of these realms," and not a priest or a monk, whom Juan de Ávila exhorts to cast forth impediments to "secret speech with the Lord, Who demands silence between us and the creatures, since we cannot talk at once to them and to Him." [5] By such paths he leads us to regions which, without describing them, he

[1] *S.S.M.*, I, p. xiii.
[2] *Del Sacramento*, etc. (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 10).
[3] *Ibid.* (p. 11).
[4] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 365).
[5] *Ibid.* (p. 654).

glimpses in language both suggestive and beautiful : to "a love of God so burning that not only does it not cause us to shed tears, but wipes them from our eyes and restrains them." [1]

With but infrequent exceptions, all that Juan de Ávila writes appears to be the fruit of his reading of the Scriptures and of his personal experience. In the *Audi, Filia* he quotes from about twelve authorities, of whom by far the most important is St. Augustine : he cites St. Augustine in this book nearly as frequently as the rest of his authorities put together. In his letters, the same proportion is kept, though the total number of quotations made, and of authorities used, is naturally very much smaller. In the two books combined—that is to say, in the better known and much more important half of his works—he quotes Gerson only four times,[2] Richard of St. Victor only once,[3] and the pseudo-Dionysius not at all. Nor does he make more use of these authors elsewhere. Other ascetic writers might have read intensively in the mediaeval mystics, and translated long passages from their works in order to erect an imperfectly wrought superstructure of mystical theology on the more solid but elementary foundations of what they knew from experience. Juan de Ávila, a secular priest and a missioner, was content to accept the limitations which the nature of his work imposed upon him. The result is that he gives us merely glimpses of the heights of which others have written in detail, but he is restrained by the humility natural in one called to do less lofty service. He is not the type of writer who can describe anything for long at second hand. Unwilling even to appear to be other than he is, he will lead us no higher than to the foot of the Cross or to the steps of the Altar.

Nevertheless, we can gain some insight into the type of Christian which is his ideal from the books he

[1] *A.F.*, chap. 74 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 218).

[2] *A.F.*, chaps. 50, 53, 55 ; *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 126–7 ; vol. ii, pp. 154, 163, 168).

[3] *A.F.*, chap. 42 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 131).

recommends for the Christian's reading. Mystical writers, properly so called, he would have him read only with great circumspection. In particular, it is instructive to note, he mistrusts the teachings of Osuna's *Third Spiritual Alphabet*: "the second part, and the fifth, which is of prayer, let them read, but not, as a rule, the third, for this will do harm, since it tends to destroy all thought, which is not suitable for all."[1] Books recommended for reading in the vulgar tongue (*libros de romance*) are the Bible, especially the New Testament every evening,[2] the *Passio duorum*, the *Imitation of Christ* ("Contemptus mundi"), the works of St. Bernard, the *Confessions* of St. Augustine and "the Carthusians."[3] Together with these may be placed the "devout books" of Fray Luis de Granada, the *Collations* of Cassian, St. John Climacus, St. Gregory's *Morals*, *Summa mysteriorum fidei* of Francis Titelman (*d.* 1537) and "the Carthusian" ("El Cartujano"), "who writes on all the Gospels."[4] Luis de Granada is among the most frequently and warmly eulogized of these authors. "Do with great confidence," exhorts Juan de Ávila, "that which he counsels you."[5]

This list of authorities also represents approximately his own debts; possibly it is even in excess of them. The total is not a large one. Nor does he recommend his authors for close study. They are to be read "without wearying the head" and "so as to uplift the heart,"—for their value in meditation, that is to say, not for their content alone.[6]

A synthesis of Juan de Ávila's teaching on the contemplative life will show us up to what point he

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 118). He also recommends (p. 223) the *First Spiritual Alphabet* for reading.

[2] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 150).

[3] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 117–19, 150–1, 223). St. Augustine and St. Bernard are both quoted and recommended for reading in various parts of Ávila's books. The *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* of "Guillermo Parisién" is given by Ávila as one of his own sources (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 119) and also recommended to a preacher as a book "which you must not be without."

[4] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 125, 150, 640); *A.F.*, chap. 74 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 217).

[5] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 625).

[6] *Ibid.* (p. 150).

ascends the mount of contemplation. He appears to be beginning the ascent in Chapter 71 of *Audi, Filia*. Here we learn "that penitence for sin is the first step in our approach to God," the second step being "the giving of thanks to Him for having thus set us free."[1] There is on the whole less about mortification and penance to be found in Juan de Ávila than might be expected of one who was principally an ascetic writer: his concern is chiefly with what may roughly be termed the Illuminative Life. But the obligations of the Way of Martha are never forgotten. We must "set our hands to the one while we fix our eyes on the other."

> He that would espouse the fair life of recollection and devout prayer, desires well; but first it beseems him to espouse the life of labour, busying himself in the first place with his neighbours, after the which, if he persevere, he will be enabled to lead that other life, when the Lord sees that he is fulfilling his duty. Meanwhile He is satisfied if we sigh for that life and follow this.[2]

For the second stage of the contemplative life, the reader of the *Audi, Filia* is given a series of daily meditations on the Passion of the Redeemer, which can be "practised in one of two manners: either by presenting to our imagination the bodily figure of Our Lord, or by thinking thereon without imaginative representation."[3] As in the *Exercises* of García de Cisneros and St. Ignatius, detailed instructions for these meditations are set out,[4] and these are so fully supplemented in the Letters that it would be easy to compile from both works a valuable book of devotion.

With regard to method, there are letters like the one written "to a student,"[5] laying down general rules for prayer. If he finds himself afflicted with aridity, he is to cease praying and read awhile, interspersing reading with meditation, and adding from time to time brief

[1] *A.F.*, chap. 71 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 212).
[2] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 497).
[3] *A.F.*, chap. 73 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 215). A similar scheme of meditations is set out in *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 221).
[4] *A.F.*, chaps. 72 ff. *Cf.* chap. 59.
[5] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 630).

vocal prayers, which may be said with greater concentration if he keeps before him "some image of the Passion of the Lord or His Cross."

> And persevere in this, however great the aridity, offering to the Lord this time which thou hast thus spent. He will accept it, for from Him came the command to spend it thus. And receive thou the Lord each fortnight, or, if thy soul find profit therein, weekly.[1]

As to the subjects suggested for meditation, the Passion naturally takes the first place, the exercises being conceived primarily as exciting the heart to thanksgiving. They are divided into seven parts, intended, "unless some better method suggest itself," one for each day of the week. On Monday the meditation is upon the Agony and Betrayal of Christ, and His appearance before Caiaphas. On Tuesday are considered His trials and scourging; on Wednesday, the theme is the crowning with thorns; on Thursday, the Washing of the Feet and institution of the Eucharist; on Friday, the Crucifixion; on Saturday, the Burial, Descent into Hades and Sorrows of Our Lady. "Of Sunday," adds Ávila, "I say nothing, for, as ye know, this is the day set apart for thinking upon the Resurrection and the glory of those that are in Heaven." He adds likewise the admonition to "take as little sleep as possible on the Thursday night, that thou mayest bear the Lord company."[2] This and similar indications will show that his aim was to fix in his readers' minds the events of Holy Week, and as far as possible to make them live through them.

To these meditations and instructions for practising them are added counsels of many kinds for those who would "serve the Lord in greater quietness"[3] than the active life will allow. Some of the counsels are merely directions for the posture to be adopted in meditation, for dealing with wandering thoughts and for awaking devotion[4]; others are in the nature of exhortations to

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 630).
[2] *A.F.*, chap. 72, *passim*.
[3] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 497).
[4] *A.F.*, chap. 75 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 220–1).

aid recollection.[1] Although humility and perseverance, Ávila reminds us, are more profitable than many rules,[2] he gives rules and recommendations in plenty because he is writing, not only "for the bride of Christ, who . . . lives for naught else than prayer and for inward and outward recollection," [3] but also for those who have active work to do daily and can retire from the world but for a short time for their devotions.[4]

Occasionally, though the outward accompaniments of recollection are present in the exercitant, true recollection will not come to him. At such times, he may desire and sigh for the requisite grace, but he must not repine because it is not granted him. "Our Lord called thee only that thou shouldst be saved: give thanks to Him for having kept thee and for keeping thee in the good way wherein He set thee. . . . Oftentimes we serve God better when we are not recollected yet desire to be so than by being so." [5] Ávila has some memorable passages, of a flint-like austerity, which deal faithfully with the subject of "dryness":

> The profit of the soul consists rather in a man's denying his own will, and doing with a good courage that which he feels to be pleasing to the Lord than in tenderness of heart and sweetness of devotion. For in the former is revealed the true love which a man has toward God, wherein consists the perfection of Christianity, whereas in the latter may be concealed love of self, which befouls all things.
>
> Wherefore be not dismayed for the dryness which thou sayest is in thy heart, but press thou on through the desert, though there be no green tree therein, nor shade to give thee refreshment, nor water to gladden thee.[6]

This letter is written to a student; elsewhere he writes more trenchantly concerning "spiritual sweetness," [7] but to a religious. The spirit underlying these and other letters is the same; only the tone is tempered to the correspondent.

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 367, 454–5).
[2] *A.F.*, chap. 75 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 221).
[3] *A.F.*, chap. 58 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 177).
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 497).
[6] *Ibid.* (pp. 629–30).
[7] *Ibid.* (pp. 184–5).

Thus much on dryness ; but, on the other hand, to the man " who is careful about recollection, and sets his confidence in God," this grace will often come unexpectedly—" in the streets or squares just as though he were in his cell." [1] It is only those who themselves limit God's favour to set times and places that find it to be so limited in fact for them.

Juan de Ávila has a good deal to say about the part that can be played in contemplation by the intellect. Remembering his comments on Osuna's *Third Spiritual Alphabet*, we may be surprised to find how near he himself comes to " destroying all thought." He quotes St. Augustine's saying that he who prays perfectly must not speak, even to himself, and an unnamed Father's maxim : " Non est perfecta oratio monachi quando monachus quod orat intelligit." [2] He describes contemplation as being " of the heart rather than of the head," and love as being " the end (*fin*) of thought." [3] It seems probable that, although he does not describe any state of mental prayer in which thought and imagination play no part, he is thinking, at least fleetingly, of such a state. Unfortunately, this can only be inferred from the way in which he sometimes speaks of " quiet meditation " and recollection [4] ; nothing very definite can be adduced to confirm what is and remains a simple impression.

It is strengthened, nevertheless, by the warnings which Ávila gives against the excesses into which contemplatives may stumble. A superfluity of " tears, compassion and other devout feelings " [5] may belong to the lower experiences of prayer, as may also " cries and other outward signs " of so-called devotion.[6] " Unbridled fervour " and a claim to be inspired in every devout act —a probable reference to illuminism— may betoken only pride and have nothing spiritual about it at all.[7] A strong imagination, unduly

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 624–5). [2] *Ibid.* (p. 654).
[3] *A.F.*, chap. 75 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 219–20).
[4] The whole of *A.F.*, chap. 75, should be read in this connexion.
[5] *A.F.*, chap. 74 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 218). [6] *Ibid.*
[7] *A.F.*, chap. 53 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 163).

exercised, may be responsible for an apparent vision or locution[1]: in recommending for the reading of beginners the biography of St. Catherine of Siena, Ávila warns them that his aim is that they "may imitate her virtues, not desire her revelations."[2] It is only in the higher reaches of mental prayer that there occur such frequent supernormal experiences as he presupposes when warning his readers and correspondents to consider them with caution. He devotes an entire chapter[3] of the *Audi, Filia* to distinguishing between true revelations and false ones. If visions or locutions come, unexpected and undesired, he declares, the contemplative must give no credence to them, but be absolutely unmoved and fall to prayer, being assured that in due time God will make plain His will.[4]

Juan de Ávila himself ponders St. Teresa's account of her raptures and believes them to show the signs of genuineness. In his letter to her[5] he discusses the difficulty of distinguishing the true from the false, and shows so clearly that he has studied the subject deeply, both in its theoretical and in its practical aspects, that it is impossible to doubt his having dealt with souls of high contemplative experience. His wise counsel to her is known to all Teresans:

> If it be a saint that thou seest, raise thy heart to the saint in Heaven, and not to that which is represented to thy imagination. Let that serve merely as an image to bear thee aloft to what it stands for.[6]

But a longer excerpt from his prudent conclusions will give a more effective idea of his experience:

> Nor do those act rightly who discredit [revelations] by reason of their exceeding loftiness, saying that it seems to them unbelievable that infinite Majesty should condescend to such loving communication with one of His creatures. It is written that God is love. And if He is love, He must be infinite love and infinite

[1] *A.F.*, chap. 75 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 219).
[2] *A.F.*, chap. 101 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 296).
[3] Chap. 52.
[4] *A.F.*, chap. 51 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 157–8).
[5] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 235–8).
[6] *Ibid.* (p. 238).

goodness,—yea, His love and goodness must be such that there can be no marvelling if His love is so boundless as to shake the belief of such as know Him not. And even by those who know Him through faith, the individual experience of the loving—yea, more than loving—communion of God with His lover and the heights to which it attains can in no wise be understood if they have never experienced it. In this way I have seen many persons offended at hearing how great things God has done, through love, to His creatures ; because they themselves are very far removed from such things, they cannot believe Him to have done for others that which He has never done for them. Now, in reality, it is just because the work is one of love, and of love most wonderful, that they should take this for a sign that it is of God, for He is marvellous in His works, and especially in His works of mercy. Yet they find occasion of disbelief in that very thing wherein they should find occasion of belief, provided that other circumstances combine to bear testimony to its truth.[1]

One who could write such a wise letter on mystical phenomena as that of which this passage forms a part had evidently, either in his own person or through the experience of others, come frequently into contact with them. We therefore scan his writings with some expectation to see if he dwells on any stage of the Mystic Way higher than that represented by recollection. The results of an examination are disappointing.

Of the mystic's aim he says surprisingly little—almost nothing. No contrast can be greater here than that between Ávila and Cisneros : the latter continually repeating that the soul must aim at " union " with God and nothing less, the former only occasionally reminding his readers that their aim must be to " approach " or " reach " Him.[2] The only kinds of union with God which Ávila contemplates are two. There is, first, " the union of the soul with Our Lord . . . in the Mass," [3] described eloquently and movingly, but with a clearness admitting of no other possible interpretation : and it is worth noticing here that the word " deified," not seldom used by mystical writers of the state of Union, is only employed in the *Letters* with reference to the Apostles

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 237).
[2] *Ibid.* (pp. 626–7).
[3] *Ibid.* (p. 143).

at the Last Supper.[1] The second kind of union is that consummated in Heaven, when (not "we" but) "our wills shall for ever be united with the will of God"—a union spoken of always in the most sober terms.[2]

"Let the soul beg God to bring it where He is since it desires to be one with Him."[3] In such language Juan de Ávila describes the contemplative's yearning, but in the light of the passages just quoted the reader must be content to interpret it otherwise than of mystical union. Yet there are numerous places in which Ávila seems to catch glimpses of a mystical union which he cannot describe, whether because he has never himself experienced it, or whether because his humility keeps him from attempting to describe the ineffable. The mention of a "union of hearts,"[4] between God and the faithful soul, suggests to him the cry of the Lover in the *Song of Songs* and St. Bernard's descriptions of the Divine fellowship. Again he pictures God and the soul as sharing "the sweet yoke of love" and conversing as "equal to equal." "Is there union of love between God and thy soul?"[5] he enquires of one of his disciples. He asks no more; and we recall his warning to a colleague in the sacred ministry "not to reveal intimate details touching the communion of God either with thyself or with any other person."[6]

Another passage from Juan de Ávila's letter to St. Teresa will explain still further the hiatus which we are discovering in his writings. "The book," he advises her (the *Book of her Life* is of course indicated), "should not be put into the hands of many, for in some parts its words stand in need of pruning, and, in others, of exposition; and other things in it there are which to your Reverence's spirit may be profitable, but would not be so to all who followed them, for the ways by which God leads some are not for others."[7]

[1] "Por Él fué comunicado a ellos la participación de la divinidad. ¡Oh, cuántas veces, viéndose tan deificados y enriquecidos amadores y amados de Dios, daban mil alabanzas a Jesucristo!" (*E.E. Obras*, vol. i, pp. 387–8).

[2] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 586).

[3] *Ibid.* (p. 184). *Cf.* pp. 416–17, 458.

[4] *Ibid.* (p. 385).

[5] *Ibid.* (p. 622).

[6] *Ibid.* (p. 115).

[7] *Ibid.* (p. 235).

Was it, perhaps, the excessive prudence which made Juan de Ávila write thus of the earliest of St. Teresa's works that stayed his own pen, and held him back from writing what could not safely be read by all? We cannot assume this, but it is at least a possibility which admirers of the Beatus may develop. A less imaginative estimate of his genius would fall back upon the lines along which we have already proceeded.

The conclusion of the matter, if we assume this conservative position, seems to us something as follows. Juan de Ávila is one of the most deeply spiritual writers in Spain's Golden Age. He is also not far from being one of the most original. His work as a mission-preacher led him continually into contact with the most imperfect souls, and these were chiefly in his mind when he wrote. Every reader has admitted his competence in this type of writing. Says one of his English translators :

> For my parte I must confesse that I have neuer mett, in anie Authour, with so manie, so weightie, so easie and practicable considerations and inducements towards not onley the patient, but euen the ioyfull sufferance of all those crosses and afflictions which can finde the way to us in this world.[1]

And another :

> For I am much deceaued if there be any vertue to be obtayned, or any vice to be auoyded, or any necessity to be remoued, or any affliction to be asswaged, wherein a man may not find some excellent addresse for his purpose, in the reading of those works aforesaid which he was inspired to write by the loue, and for the loue of God.[2]

Though, according to this latter translator, " all was prayer with him [Ávila], from the morning till two of the clocke afternoone ; and again, from six, till bed-tyme," [3] he probably had little opportunity for cultivating in his own person the habits of mystical prayer, and forbore to write of anything for which he could not

[1] *Cure of Discomfort* (Bibl., No. 1266), Preface.
[2] *Rich Cabinet*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1264), fol. 3r. (Preface to the . . . reader).
[3] *Rich Cabinet*, etc., fol. 2v. (Preface to the . . . reader).

personally vouch. On the other hand, he had read the works of mystics of the past and had had ample experience of mystics of his own day. The reflection of both these facts is cast over his writings. It only remains to add that in these we find most of the distinctive traits which characterize the mysticism of Spain, and that, in his concreteness, the soundness of his psychology, his realism and his aversion from both illuminism and passivity, he is own brother to Osuna, whom he regards with misgiving, to St. Teresa, whose pre-eminence he acknowledges, and to Juan de los Ángeles, a successor who in many ways recalls him.

IV

The enquiry which we have made into a particular aspect of Juan de Ávila's writings must not allow us to forget that, unlike most of the authors studied in this volume, he is from the literary point of view one of the greatest religious writers that Spain has known. "He must be considered," says an eighteenth-century editor, "a creative genius as to the language of the Spanish mystics, which he enriched with many expressive words, to the melody and magnificence of which his age was unaccustomed." [1] Our Bibliography will show how his *Audi, Filia*, his sermons and his letters, somewhat diffidently given to the world in the first place, were re-issued again and again, both separately and in collections, and have been translated and re-translated into English, French, German and Italian. The most superficial examination of Ávila's works will show that, while they lack certain qualities usually accepted as essentials of the stylist, they have others which compensate for these and are marked with so striking an imprint of originality that the place which they have won for themselves in Spanish literature is fully merited.

To consider first their shortcomings : the works of Juan de Ávila have seldom, if ever, the sustained

[1] Quoted from the edition of 1792 (Bibl., No. 1242) in *Obras*, vol. i, pp. vii–viii.

eloquence which we have eulogized in the two Luises [1] ; they abound in repetitions, in long and formless sentences and in pages which obviously were neither revised nor intended for publication ; their illustrations are few and usually trite, their metaphors equally few and undistinguished. Full emphasis has been laid by Ávila's critics on what Capmany stigmatizes as the "incorrectness and negligence revealed in many parts of his writings." [2] Full credit, on the other hand, has been given him for the richness and flexibility of his vocabulary, and his creation of phrases which have been copied throughout the Golden Age.[3] Perhaps his pioneer work has even been somewhat exaggerated. To call him "fundador del lenguaje místico," for example, as Sr. Catalán Latorre does,[4] is, as these *Studies* will have shown, an exaggeration. A recent writer in French improves even on this in speaking of the "grand mouvement mystique dont il fut l'incontestable initiateur et le vrai chef de file." [5] Let us attempt a more sober estimate.

First and foremost among the literary qualities of Juan de Ávila must be placed a remarkable, though only occasional, felicity of phrase which at its best is entirely unsurpassed. "These are not the husks of mere words," he says to one of his correspondents, "nor dead considerations, but arrows shot from the mighty quiver of God which pierce and convince the heart." [6] The reference in the original is not of a purely literary kind, but it might be used, by any literary critic, of the vivid phrases of the author of this phrase, itself most vivid. Did not, indeed, an English translator of the *Audi, Filia* use the selfsame metaphor of its author? "It is not the clapping of handes which he begs. He shootes at no less than the souls of men." [7]

This was no doubt the quality in Juan de Ávila which that same translator appreciated when he gave to

[1] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 74–6, 298–303. [2] *Art. cit.*, p. 333. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *El Beato*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1298), p. vi.
[5] J. M. de Buck, S.J. (Bibl., No. 1299), p. 7. *Cf.* p. 127, above.
[6] *Obras*, vol. i, p. 143.
[7] *Rich Cabinet*, etc., fol. 50 (Preface to the . . . reader).

his book the sub-title : "A Rich Cabinet full of Spirituall Jewells." Sometimes they are but "jewels five words long," to realize the force of which it is necessary to read them in their original, for in translation it evaporates :

En bebiendo del deleite del pecado mortal, muere Cristo en el alma.[1]

Decid : No vendo a Dios tan barato. Señor, más valéis Vos y más quiero a Vos.[2]

Desnudo murió Jesucristo en la cruz, y desnudos nos hemos de ofrecer nosotros a Él.[3]

No son . . . grandes nuestros trabajos, mas es pequeño vuestro amor ; no pesa mucho una libra de peso, mas un niño dice : ¡ ay, cómo pesa ![4]

Más vale hiel que miel en la tierra donde Dios fué aheleado.[5]

Cuanto más martillada, más reluciente ; y mientras más extranjera, ciudadana.[6]

Demos, pues, nuestro todo, que es chico todo, por el gran todo, que es Dios.[7]

Sometimes they depend for their force less upon their wording than upon their inherent wisdom :

It is good counsel to beginners that they do nothing that appears to be of great sanctity ; for because they are only tender and all their progress is still in its flower, the wind is apt to blast

[1] *A.F.*, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 35) : "When we taste the delight of mortal sin, Christ dies in the soul."

[2] *A.F.*, chap. 10 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 47) : "Say : I sell not God so cheaply. Thou art worth more than any, Lord, and more than any do I love Thee." [Note emphatic position of *Vos*.]

[3] *A.F.*, chap. 26 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 89) : "Stripped of all was Jesus Christ when He died upon the Cross. And we too must be stripped of all ere we offer ourselves to Him." [Note emphatic position of *desnudo(s)*.]

[4] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 256) : "It is not that our trials are great, but that your love is small. A pound-weight weighs little enough, but a child says 'Oh, how heavy it is !'"

[5] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 416) : "In the country where God was given gall to drink, gall is better than honey" [Note proverbial form : rhyme of *hiel . . . miel*.]

[6] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 444) : "The more [the soul] is hammered, the more it shines ; the more it is a stranger, the more a citizen." [Antithesis and paradox.]

[7] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 669) : "Let us, then, leave our all, which is all very little, for that great All, which is God." [Play on the word *todo*.]

them ; wherefore they do better to hide their good things than to make show thereof.[1]

Let the man whose heart is stout enough to desire a cross[2] have shoulders broad enough to bear it. Let the man who glories in affection count himself honoured if he suffer affliction. If he care for God, let him care equally for what is demanded of him for God's sake.[3]

Then it must be conceded even by those who dwell most insistently upon the formlessness of much of Ávila's writing that his oratorical qualities can on occasion be surprising. Both in his treatises and in his letters he will break into periods combining the true eloquence of sincerity with a style the balance and polish of which bear witness to assiduous study. Such periods we may credibly suppose to have been extracted and adapted from his sermons, for few of these have come down to us in their original form, and it would be strange indeed if he had not occasionally utilized them. He had nearly all the qualities of the successful preacher. We cannot subscribe to the common eulogy of his "quick and brilliant imagination"[4]: in our judgment he was fluent, and fertile in vocabulary, but not unduly imaginative, as is shown by the infrequency and indifferent nature of his use of similitudes,[5] which almost without exception are those of Scripture, or, where original, are trite beyond comparison. But he had many gifts to compensate for this failing. The directness of his appeal is seldom obscured by his stylistic imperfections. His knowledge of the Bible and flexibility in using it are unsurpassed by his contemporaries. The variety of theme and treatment which he offers is noteworthy in an ascetic writer. And what has been said

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 406).

[2] *Lit.*, "quien tiene pico para pedir cruz." *Pico* = beak, bill. The metaphor, however, is more natural in English as translated.

[3] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 412).

[4] *Epistolario*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1263), p. xix.

[5] Where are the "metáforas pintorescas" of *op. cit.* (Bibl., No. 1263), p. xxii ? I can find in the whole of Ávila's work less than twenty which seem to me worthy of perpetuation. Capmany (*art. cit.*, p. 332) is juster when he calls Ávila's metaphors "algunas veces comunes y pobres, aunque vivas y naturales."

of his eloquence may best be developed by the examination of a number of passages from his writings.

Many of these occur at the conclusion of his homilies and epistles, summarizing the ideas which they have been elaborating or carrying the reader to a climax of thought on which he may suitably pause for meditation. The conclusion of Chapter 99 of the *Audi, Filia* may be thought to depend for its effect too much upon repetition, and that of Chapter 109 upon emotional rhetoric, but there is no denying either the contrast between these passages or the effectiveness of each. We quote them in order :

" Forget thine own people." . . . If thou loose thyself from these, the Lord will number thee with His own, and make thee one with them in nobility, righteousness and love. For so long as thou holdest to thyself, thou canst not receive Him. Naked He desires thee to be, for He will clothe thee. . . . Forget then thy people, and be no more a sinner ; marvel at thy sins of the past and live no more the life of the world. Forget thy people ; despise even thine own ancestry. Forget thy people ; cast the noise of the world from thy heart ; and consider that thou art in a desert place alone with God.[1]

O precious blood of the altogether lovely, of Christ ! Redder it is than rubies, yet it can wash thee whiter than milk. Ah, that one might see how cruelly it was shed by those that crucified the Lord, yet with how great love the Lord Himself shed it ! For of Thine own good will, O Lord, didst Thou stretch Thy arms and Thy feet that from both there might flow blood to cleanse us from our evil living, whether in desire or in deed. Great was the power of Thine enemies against Thee, but greater the power of Thy love, for it was Thy love, and not Thine enemies, that vanquished Thee.[2]

A longer passage, slightly more artificial, suffers from both these excesses, but has nevertheless all the appeal which can be conveyed by the popular preacher :

Look, then, O maiden, at this Christ Jesus proclaimed by so unworthy a herald. Look at this Man and hear His words, for He is the Master given us by the Father. Look at this Man and

[1] *A.F.*, chap. 99 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 292).
[2] *A.F.*, chap. 109 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 311).

imitate His life, for He alone is the road to salvation. Look at this Man and have compassion on One whose very enemies were moved by His estate to pity. Look at this Man and weep for Him, for we have brought Him to His estate by our sins. Look at this Man and love Him, since it is for thee that He so greatly suffers. Look at this Man and beautify thyself, for in Him shalt thou find all colours that thou needest for thy beauty. . . . Look at this Man, O maiden, because they that look not on Him can in no wise escape death. For as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness that the stricken might look on it and live, and whoso would not look on it died, even so he that looks not with faith and love on Christ lifted up upon the wood of the Cross shall die everlastingly.[1]

Those who find Ávila over-oratorical here will prefer some of the passages from his *Letters*, no less eloquent, but of a quiet and deep earnestness which depends upon no kind of artifice whatever.

Ah, Sister, if we could but see how dear we are and how precious in the sight of God ! Ah, if we could but see how deeply we are hidden in His heart, and how near we are to Him when we believe Him to have cast us from Him. Blessed be Jesus Christ for ever, for this is the fullness of our hope, that naught can affright me as much as He can re-assure me. If I become no longer devout, but lukewarm ; if I pass from Heaven to the darkness of the abyss of Hell ; if I am surrounded by my sins of the past, by fears of the future, by devils who accuse me and lay snares for me, by men who pursue me with great fear ; if they threaten me with Hell and set ten thousand perils before me : then I sigh for my sins and raise my eyes, beseeching healing from the tender, the kind, the merciful Jesus Christ, my most firm Lover even to the end. I cannot but trust, seeing that God held me in such esteem as to give Himself for me.[2]

Others will be moved by his more dramatic moments, as where in the person of Christ he asks if Christ is not all-sufficient :

I am thy satisfaction and thy ransom : why art thou afraid then for thy debts if with penitence thou confessest them and beggest to be loosed from them ? I am thy reconciliation : why

[1] *A.F.*, chap. 112 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 319–20).
[2] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 345).

fearest thou wrath? I am the bond of thy friendship: why fearest thou the wrath of God? I am thy defender: why fearest thou enemies? I am thy friend: why fearest thou that aught I have shall be denied thee if thou strayest not from My side? Thine are My Body and My Blood—and fearest thou hunger? Thine is My Heart—and fearest thou to be forgotten? Thine My divinity: why fearest thou then to be in need? [1]

And—not to quote indefinitely where quotation is so easy and so infectious—all will recognize that in a few places Ávila forgets restraint, forgets indeed everything but the theme which fills his consciousness, and gives us pages of unrelieved eloquence to which translation will not readily do justice:

Come hither, then, my soul, and tell me—in God's name I ask thee—what is it that hinders thee from following wholly after God, and with all thy strength? What lovest thou, if not this thy Spouse? And wherefore hast thou not great love for Him that so greatly loved thee? Had He naught else to do on earth but to give Himself up to love thee and seek thy advantage, even to His own hurt? What is there for thee to do on earth save to love the King of Heaven? Seest thou not that all these things must come to an end? What seest thou? What hearest thou? What touchest? tastest? handlest? Seest thou not that all these things are but a spider's web, which can never clothe thee or keep thee from the cold? Where art thou when thou art not in Jesus Christ? Whereon thinkest thou? What esteemest thou? What seekest thou beyond the one and perfect good? Let us rise, lady, and put an end to this evil dream. Let us awaken, for it is day, and Jesus Christ, Who is the light, has come.[2]

None of Juan de Ávila's works, either in style or in content, are as striking as his *Letters*. These are far less subjective than those of St. Teresa, who of all the Spanish mystics is the greatest letter-writer.[3] They have none of her sublime triviality, her humour, her grace or her charm. They call up no mental pictures, either of the writer or (except very seldom) of his correspondents. They deal almost exclusively with spiritual matters.

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 346–7).
[2] *Ibid.* (p. 380).
[3] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 145–51.

On the other hand, they are intensely real, full of passion and emotion, containing the very essence of the writer's deep and precious experience and inspired by a profound love for souls. They are fuller, longer, more satisfying and more penetrating than the letters of St. John of the Cross [1] ; less circumstantial, less concerned with organization and less full of everyday detail than those of St. Ignatius of Loyola.[2] But they are distinguished from the epistolary writings of all these mystics in being first, foremost and all the time the letters of a preacher.

It must be admitted that occasionally the apostrophes, the florid periods and the perorations of the *Letters* are out of keeping with the epistolary style. It is here that the deep sincerity which pervades all Juan de Ávila's writings, and the simplicity of the greater part of them, efface any impression which might otherwise be given of unreality. And this simplicity and this sincerity give the best of his letters all the intimacy of a conversation. Hear him, for example, with the utmost earnestness and not a suspicion of straining after effect, talking quietly to a girl who needs encouragement to live as a Christian, and to another whose love is failing :

> Have you never heard that the Christian life is a continual martyrdom and a weary warfare? How can you expect to attain at once to what others reach, with great difficulty, after many years of trials and afflictions? You will often be tested like this. God will seem, as it were, to be shutting the door in your face, and the more troubled about it you are, the less favours He will show you. But you will only be experiencing suffering such as you once caused the Lord, Who would come to invite you to be with Him, and knock at the door of your heart, to find it closed against Him, or perhaps to find Himself admitted and then immediately cast out again.[3]

> My sister, love Him Who loved you when He was a Child, and Who suffered cold for you and wept in the manger for you. Love Him Who loved you. He was only eight days old when He

[1] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 241–3.
[2] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 14, 22–3.
[3] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 322).

first shed blood for you. He could not speak then, but He could love. And as He grew older, His love grew too and was shown in the works which He did among men. . . . As His body grew, His trials grew, His pains and tortures and crosses. Love, then, Him Who first loved you and loves you now in Heaven.[1]

We need not quote more extensively to illustrate the distinctive qualities of Juan de Ávila's *Letters*. So equal are they that the perusal of any few of them suffices. His prudent and weighty letters to the Archbishop of Granada on government may be contrasted with his eloquent letters on the vocation of the preacher. The tenderness of his counsels to girls on their religious progress is paralleled by his numerous letters of sympathy to widows and bereaved mothers : as in the one sphere he recognizes fully our human limitations while pointing ever to Divine grace, so in the other, while he gives the spiritual consolation which Christianity can offer, he does not forget the real desolation of a woman—above all in sixteenth-century Spain—left alone without the support of son or husband. He can be stern or tender as occasion demands, whether with friends and disciples, " ladies of title," " devout servants of God " or " gentlemen of these realms." Few noblemen, probably, have ever received a message from a commoner more blunt and uncompromising than one which Juan de Ávila sent to a certain duke by a third person. It is not soon forgotten :

> I do not write to His Grace the Duke, as I have not heard if he received the letter which I wrote him for Our Lord's birthday, and *I should not like to waste my time and bring no profit to souls.*[2]

[1] *E.E.* (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 366).

[2] *E.E.* (*Obras*, ed. 1927, p. 827).

CHAPTER VI

THE TERESAN PERIOD: JERÓNIMO GRACIÁN

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I

Jerónimo Gracián, in religion Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios, was born at Valladolid on June 6, 1545. The original name of his family, García, had been changed through Flemish influence when his father, Diego Gracián, secretary successively to Charles V and Philip II, was studying with Vives in Louvain. Jerónimo was the third son of a large family of thirteen children, of whom some, like himself, embraced the religious life, and others became known in the sphere of royal service, in which both their father and their grandfather had won distinction.

Jerónimo's education at Valladolid, Toledo and the University of Alcalá left him a graduate in arts at nineteen and in theology at three-and-twenty. He had already decided to take orders, which he did in 1569, but subsequently he spent some eighteen months "striving with his vocation" [1] before joining St. Teresa's reformed order of Discalced Carmelites on April 15, 1572, at Pastrana, in the province of Guadalajara, where there was a new foundation. Before hearing of the Reform, he had thought of becoming a Jesuit [2]: as we study his later life we may wonder with La Fuente if he was not really more fitted to join St. Ignatius' Society,[3] for it is only his writings that take us into the atmosphere of contemplation.

The beginnings of the storms which were soon to overwhelm him may be traced to his exceptional

[1] *Peregrinación de Anastasio* (Bibl., No. 1361), p. 19.

[2] "Ya que estaba graduado de maestro," says St. Teresa of him (*Fundaciones*, chap. 23: *Obras*, ed. P. Silverio, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. v, p. 196), "trató de entrar en la Compañía de Jesús, y ellos le tenían recibido, y por cierta ocasión, dijeron que se esperase unos días." Matters may therefore have gone farther than suggested in the text above, but no more is certainly known.

[3] La Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús* (Bibl., No. 448, vol. i, p. 393 n.).

precocity. While in Alcalá, it is said, he had on occasion deputized for his teachers. Now we find him in Pastrana, still a novice, being promoted, above the heads of professed monks, to the position of novice-master. Hardly had he himself professed than a still more astonishing promotion was thrust upon him. By a patent dated August 4, 1573, he was appointed Apostolic Visitor to the Carmelites of the Observance in Andalucía. We can well believe that the young friar had no taste for such honours. "Here I am," he writes, "twenty-eight years of age and professed but six months since, given the office of prelate in . . . the most undisciplined province of Carmelites in the country. A heavy burden indeed. . . ."[1]

The discontent aroused by the appointment of so young and inexperienced a Visitor ended in his returning, with his task unfinished, to Castile. On the way he stayed in Seville, founded the Discalced house of Los Remedios (January 5, 1574) and had the great joy of meeting, at Beas, St. Teresa, by whose influence he had entered the Order and with whom he had already been in correspondence. The interview was the beginning of a deep intimacy which ended only with the Saint's death, and, as the most casual inspection will show, is reflected fully in her letters. From the first she wrote of him with an enthusiasm which scarcely knew limits. "He has been here for over three weeks. . . . For all I have had to do with him, I have not yet realized his great worth. He is perfect in my eyes, and better for us than anyone else for whom we could have asked God. . . . Such gentleness, combined with perfection, I have never seen."[2] "He is like an angel," she recorded, a month later,[3] and after another month, this time to King Philip II: "Though but a youth, he has made me praise Our Lord often for all that He has given him. . . . I believe He has chosen him to work great

[1] *Peregrinación*, etc., p. 26.

[2] St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 72 (*Obras*, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. vii, p. 169): May 12, 1575.

[3] *Cartas*, 74 (*Obras*, vol. vii, p. 174): June 12, 1575.

good to this Order." [1] This opinion she never lost. Gracián became the friend, confidant and most intimate companion of the last years of her life. All readers of her letters will remember how affectionately she writes to him, identifying his interests and opinions with her own, defending him with warmth and vigour, and perhaps at times running the risk of turning his head with eulogy.

The principal faults and virtues of Gracián have already been indicated in the first volume of these *Studies*.[2] His great talent, his frankness, his spirituality and his unfailing charm of manner made a striking impression upon all who met him, which in some cases was strengthened by a deeper acquaintance.[3] His very brilliance, on the other hand, the early success which it achieved, his intimacy with St. Teresa and his somewhat impatient energy made him enemies where he might have expected friends. Then there was the question of his alleged addiction to laxity. Though he had embraced the Reform, he was anxious to lighten its extreme severity : St. Teresa, in the early days of their friendship, had more than once to admonish him to be stricter with those under his authority.[4] He was by no means unable to endure hardness : his foundation of Los Remedios, to take one example, was " so poor that we ate naught but sardines, which were very cheap at the time, and for plates we had only slices of bread." [5] But he feared lest such privations, and others far worse than these, would kill the Reform in its infancy. Again, it was asserted that he was apt to forget its pre-eminently contemplative character and indulge in too many external activities. Yet he can hardly have strayed far or long from its spirit, for there is no trace whatever of disagreement between himself and its founder during her lifetime.

[1] *Cartas*, 77 (*Obras*, vol. vii, p. 184) : July 19, 1575.

[2] *S.S.M.*, I, p. 238. *Cf.* p. 144.

[3] St. Teresa's testimony is extraordinary enough. A very different one will be found in Henri Bremond : *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, etc., Paris, 1916–22, vol. ii, p. 270.

[4] St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 81, 95 (*Obras*, *ed. cit.*, vol. vii, pp. 193–6, 237–43).

[5] *Peregrinación*, etc., p. 27.

In August 1575, going again to Andalucía as Visitor to both branches of the Order, Gracián was badly received, the convents in some places even shutting their doors against him.[1] A chapter held at Almodóvar (August 8, 1576) stood by him in this matter, though recommending him to renounce his appointment as Visitor to the Calced. Upon this there followed the notorious civil war between the two branches of the Order[2]: while St. John of the Cross was a prisoner in Toledo, Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios was shut up in Madrid. Upon the division of the Order, he became Vicar-General of the Discalced province, and Prior of its Sevilian monastery (1580).

The first general chapter of the Discalced, held at Alcalá (March 3, 1581), elected Gracián, by the narrowest of majorities, its provincial. Against him some alleged that he was but thirty-five years of age, that he had been in positions of authority uninterruptedly since his novitiate, and that he was influenced too easily by the praise of his fellows. But by others his talent was felt to be an asset with which the newly separated Order could not at this juncture dispense. He was in the closest touch with St. Teresa; there were many who shared his enthusiasm for the extension of the Reform both in Europe and through missions to heathen countries; and he had certainly the energy and zeal which make for progress.

In these last qualities even St. Teresa herself can scarcely be said to have surpassed him. His tirades against "those who think that, though the whole world be burning, Carmelite perfection consists in never leaving one's cell or missing a single choir office"[3] are but the complement of his own activity. Within a few months of the Alcalá chapter, he had founded religious houses at Valladolid, Salamanca, Soria and Lisbon; and after a preaching tour in Castile had returned to Beas when the news of the foundress' death reached him. A manuscript, published only in modern times, reveals to

[1] *Peregrinación*, etc., p. 29.
[2] *S.S.M.*, I, p. 234.
[3] *Peregrinación*, etc., p. 51.

us the grief which it caused him. "It was the greatest and most fearful blow," says this witness, "that he had ever suffered in his life. He stood there in dire perturbation, trembling and as it were numbed with cold, and he would have gone to throw himself upon his bed had he dared to remain alone. . . . There fell upon him a mist and a solitude so great that it descended upon him like a heavy burden." [1] He might well feel lonely and forsaken among his enemies, for with the death of St. Teresa the storm that was gathering over his head grew more threatening every year.

After four years of this growing dissension, during which one chapter (that of Almodóvar, May 1, 1583) passed what was virtually a vote of censure upon Gracián, his provincialate came to an end. His proposal that Fray Nicolás de Jesús María (Doria) should succeed him was carried, and he himself was elected [2] Prior of Lisbon and Vicar-Provincial of Portugal.

Doria, a Genoese by birth, and as capable a man as Gracián, though in a very different way, had entered the Order when nearly forty years of age, after a successful career as a banker. Though St. Teresa praised him, and urged Gracián to co-operate with him,[3] he was an ambitious and determined man with whom co-operation was not easy. Already, indeed, before St. Teresa's death, he had shown signs of becoming Gracián's rival and enemy. When St. John of the Cross heard the retiring provincial's proposal as to his successor, he is said to have exclaimed : "He has elected the man who will strip him of his habit"—a prediction which, if authentic, shows to what a pass matters had already come. Doria, whom Gracián had sent to Italy to spread the Reform there, and who was Prior at Genoa, accordingly returned to Spain as provincial, and the development of the newly-separated order proceeded apace.

[1] Juan Menéndez Pidal (*Opúsculo*, etc., Bibl., No. 1377), p. 93.

[2] On October 17, 1585, at the Chapter of Pastrana, which was a continuation of that of Lisbon (May 10, 1585).

[3] St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 281, 282 (*Obras*, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. viii, pp. 333–9).

During his provincialate, Doria introduced a system of centralized government termed the "Consulta," which took from the priors their votes at chapters, and gave the authority instead into a tribunal of seven persons. Had this body been formed in Gracián's provincialate, it might have worked in a way less satisfactory to Doria than it did during his own. In any case, those who had in her lifetime been St. Teresa's nearest companions felt it to be alien to the very spirit of the Reform. It soon became clear, to Gracián as well as to others, that the Consulta recognized in him a powerful enemy with ideas very dissimilar to its own, who, at whatever cost, must be quelled.[1] In the past, both his actions and his proposals had been freely criticized, and his character openly censured: now we find him reprimanded for a contumacy of which he was in no way guilty; submitting somewhat weakly; entreating humble pardon; and, as a consequence, being deprived of his offices and all influence in the chapters of the Order (1587–8). At this very time, St. John of the Cross also was being treated not dissimilarly,[2] but he was content to suffer in silence and spend the few months of life that remained to him in retirement. Gracián, who was less tractable, without having courage (as the truculent Luis de León asserted emphatically [3]) to stand up to his enemies, committed the unforgivable sin of appealing from the Consulta to the King. The appeal was of course unavailing: Gracián could not influence Philip II as St. Teresa had done. And, on February 17, 1592, the Consulta pronounced on him the extreme penalty of expulsion from the Order.

However keenly alive we may be to Fray Jerónimo's faults, our sympathies cannot but go with him from this point onward. Making no appeal to the tribunal against the sentence of expulsion, he left Spain for Rome, and it is a significant fact that the Consulta was sufficiently apprehensive of what he might say and do

[1] Cf. *Peregrinación*, etc., p. 33. [2] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, p. 239.
[3] Letter of March 5, 1590, *cit.* Bell, *Luis de Leon* (Bibl., No. 783), p. 195.

there to send after him two monks who should defend, if need were, the interests of his judges. But in fact he did little. An interview with the Pope proved unavailing ; and when Gracián decided to seek entry into another Order, Carthusians, Dominicans, Capuchins and Discalced Franciscans all rejected him. One of his friends is said to have advised him to retire to a desert : perhaps he actually contemplated following the spirit of this advice, if not its letter. At any rate, he travelled from Rome to Naples, and embarked at Naples for Sicily (January 1593). While preaching in that island—no disgrace, it will be observed, rendered him forgetful of his sacred office—he received authorization to join the Discalced Augustinians, and set off for Rome again with unabated vigour. But on the way new misfortunes befel him, for he was captured by the Turks (October 10, 1593) and carried off to Tunis in captivity.

His strikingly individual autobiography, *The Pilgrimage of Anastasius*, from which we have already quoted in this narrative, describes with great vividness the miseries he suffered in Tunis. He was branded with red-hot irons and stripped to the skin, " so that none could remove more from me without flaying me alive." [1] All his possessions, of whatever kind, were taken from him. The manuscript of an uncompleted book, the " Mystic Harmony," which he had hoped to get published in Rome, was torn up by his captors and used for the cleaning of muskets. The bread given him was black, fetid and verminous ; the water, so foul as to be undrinkable save by a man dying of thirst.[2] For seventeen months, loaded with chains, he was imprisoned under the vilest conditions, in a subterranean bath with sixteen hundred comrades. But he was still a worthy comrade of St. Teresa. " Sometimes," she had written to him years before, " the body grows weary when trials are heaped one upon another and the soul becomes a little cowardly, but I think the will remains true." [3] Our hearts go out to a priest

[1] *Peregrinación*, etc., p. 89. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[3] St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 229 (*Obras*, *ed. cit.*, vol. viii, p. 206).

who in such straits could still say his Mass daily and preach to his companions in captivity. We are not surprised to hear that he made many converts.[1]

Set free by the payment of a ransom in the spring of 1595, Jerónimo Gracián walked in his rags from Genoa to Rome, begging food by the way, and went straight to the General of the Augustinians to ask for the promised habit. But after so long an interval, difficulties were now raised, and the unwanted monk appealed once more to the Pope, relating to him his whole story. "This man is a saint," was Clement VIII's only comment on receiving the petition, and, despite arguments to the contrary, he resolved to effect his reinstatement in the Carmelite Order. All who heard of Gracián's experiences now declared that, whatever his faults might have been, he had atoned for them fully by his sufferings. On March 6, 1596, a brief of rehabilitation allowed him to enter a monastery of the mitigated rule and wear its habit while following the rule of the Reform, and to enjoy the status and privileges in the Calced which would have been his had he professed among them. Though Doria had died in 1594, the compromise was no doubt a wise one; and the Calced of Rome justified it by treating him with all the kindness he merited.

The rest of Fray Jerónimo's life was spent in comparative comfort, though in a semi-retirement readily accounted for by his past history. As P. Grégoire de St. Joseph has pointed out, he never seems to have advertised his rehabilitation, either in his life, his letters or his autobiography. Until 1600 he remained in Rome as secretary to Cardinal Deza, occupying himself also with writing. Then he returned for a time to Spain, made a visit to his aged mother shortly before her death in 1601, and, apart from a short time spent in preaching in Spanish Africa and a return visit to Rome, remained in Spain till 1607. We may suppose

[1] Most of these details come from *Peregrinación*, pp. 82 ff. A few, however, will be found in Gracián's *Redención de Cautivos*, Brussels, 1609, "Al Lector," fols. 46–50. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, chap. iv.

him to have been happy. He continued to write, publishing books both in Madrid and Valencia, and he was engaged also in the preliminaries of the canonization of his beloved St. Teresa, who was beatified in the year of his death.

The last seven years of his life, from the point of view of his writings by no means the least interesting, were spent in the Low Countries. Going there at the request of the Governor, who was his personal friend, he was able, as his numerous published works alone prove, to play an important part in the religious life of the country, which, like Italy and France, had given a home to the Discalced Reform of St. Teresa. He died at Brussels, in his seventieth year, on September 21, 1614.

II

The energy and zeal of Jerónimo Gracián, so conspicuous in the story of his life, are no less manifest in his bibliography. It is hardly possible to suppose that he wrote all the 445 works attributed to him by Nicolás Antonio, who for most of them gives neither date nor place of origin and makes him responsible for treatises on medicine, law, philosophy, history and politics, as well as for all kinds of theological writings. Diversities of title no doubt account for some of these works, while others must have been foisted on him posthumously and others, again, may never have existed. We may be perfectly certain, nevertheless, of his authorship of about thirty books, and reasonably sure that he wrote a considerable number more, principally short ones, some of which, as he tells us himself, he had no intention of publishing.[1] In this survey, only the undoubtedly genuine writings are considered, and of these the importance of less than half a dozen is pre-eminent.

It seems probable that Gracián began writing on mystical themes before he had long been a Carmelite.

[1] *Peregrinación*, etc., pp. 187–92. Here Gracián gives a list of his books at the time of writing, shortly before his death.

As early as March 2, 1578, we find St. Teresa commenting to him on the "little book" [1] he has sent her, apparently to have her opinion on it, and protesting at his statement that he "knows nothing of Union." "What he says of 'bright darkness' (*escuridad clara*) and 'impetus,'" she writes, "implies the contrary; but, since the states which he describes pass away and are not ordinary experiences, their nature is not completely realized." [2] Gracián had therefore completed at least one book when he was thirty-two years of age; he did not, however, so far as is known, publish anything until he was over forty.

In 1586, while still holding office among the Discalced Carmelites, he published, at Lisbon and Zaragoza, two independent editions of a book entitled *The Burning Lamp* or *Book of Religious Perfection*, "wherein is explained how the soul should act towards God, his neighbour and himself, keep perfectly the rule of his Order and the three vows of obedience, chastity and poverty." This is a book based on addresses given to Discalced Carmelite nuns at Pamplona, where it was re-published in an enlarged form in 1588. It was one of the most popular of all Gracián's works, and is the only one ever to have been translated into English, besides having a considerable history during its author's own lifetime. "Having been printed in Castile, Portugal, Valencia and other cities," he writes of it no later than in 1604, "I had it printed also at Naples. And on the way thence to Rome, having most of the edition with me, I fell into the hands of the Turks, and the book reached Tunis, where it had some fruit among the Christian and renegade captives who read it." [3] It was published at Madrid, in a volume containing two other and shorter works, in 1604, and by itself, at Brussels, in 1609. Its first part (the whole of the 1586 edition) is a "Compendium of Christian perfection,"

[1] *Cuadernito*: a manuscript book is meant. Contrast the *libros pequeñicos* of p. 101, above.

[2] St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 216 (*Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. viii, p. 172).

[3] Dedicatoria to edition of Madrid, 1604.

briefly and clearly set out, full of salutary teaching and practical counsel. To this Gracián added a second part, "On Mental Prayer," which may well have been the "little book" referred to by St. Teresa, and must be reserved for future consideration, together with an unimportant third part, "On the spirit and the devotion wherewith the Divine Office should be recited and Mass should be heard." A fourth part, "On confession and communion," appears in the editions of 1604 and 1609.

At about the same time as *The Burning Lamp*,[1] Gracián wrote a book entitled *A Stimulus to the Propagation of the Faith* (1586), which is an interesting commentary on the missionary interests of his provincialate. This was first published in Seville, and was also republished frequently, both at home and abroad; the copy belonging to Salamanca University, which we have here used, dates from Lisbon, where the book was published in the same year as at Seville. A preface gives an account of the joint Discalced Carmelite and Franciscan missionary expedition to Congo, Angola and other parts of Africa, on lines advocated by Gracián at the Almodóvar chapter of 1583 which had censured him; it gives also the text of the agreement between the two Orders under which they worked. The main part of the book, which is a brief treatise of but seventy small folios, consists of an "exhortation and stimulus to go and preach the Holy Gospel to the heathen." Undivided into chapters or sections, full of lengthy paragraphs, almost unending sentences and innumerable quotations from the Scriptures and the Fathers, it is nevertheless the work of an author who was thoroughly familiar with the subject of which he wrote and with the history of Christian missions. But what it chiefly reveals is a fiery spirit and a soul ardent with love intent upon fulfilling Our Lord's last command. To resist either Gracián's arguments or the forceful language in which they were expressed must have been difficult, and few who reproached him with loving soft raiment can have read passages like this which follows:

[1] Dedicatoria to *Lámpara encendida*, Madrid, 1604.

Some say that other religious orders should go [to preach to the heathen]—orders in which there is greater abundance of learning, prudence and discretion, than in these Discalced orders. To which I reply: It behoves all to convert souls to God and to extend the Catholic faith, but since the trials are great, and the heat, cold, thirst and hunger which they will have to endure in order to make conversions, therefore from none comes the undertaking more fitly than from those who profess severity of life and are continually growing and perfecting themselves therein. For such will be harmed less by sleeping on the ground, eating roots of herbs, and going about unclothed and unshod, in imitation of the Apostles whom Jesus Christ sent without staff or wallet or shoes upon their feet. And one of the chiefest needs for the conversion of souls is absolute poverty such as these two orders profess. When the heathen see that we seek not their possessions but the salvation of their souls, and that we have come from strange and distant lands to give them light, and by our lives and habits to show them the truth of our faith and doctrine, then they will surrender to the Gospel.[1]

During the years of his tribulations, Fray Jerónimo naturally published but little. In Naples, he appears to have brought out a new edition of part of *The Burning Lamp*,[2] a copy of which is to be found in the Barberini Library at Rome, while in Sicily he wrote a book entitled *Flores Carmeli*, which, however, he describes as not having been printed.[3] On his return to Rome he published an ascetic work called *A Spiritual Siege of the tempted conscience*[4] and a considerably more interesting opuscule for presentation to Clement VIII which reflects his experiences in captivity. This is entitled "A treatise on the redemption of captives, wherein are related the great miseries suffered by Christians who are in the power of infidels, and wherein is set forth how sacred a work is that of their ransom."[5] Such a book came from the depth of his experience, on which he was never slow to draw for material. But it was only when he was at peace with the world again that he began to write, and to issue his writings, with any rapidity,

[1] *Op. cit.*, fol. 42r.
[2] See Bibl., No. 1312.
[3] *Peregrinación*, etc., p. 191.
[4] See Bibl., No. 1311.
[5] See Bibl., Nos. 1347–48.

seeking an outlet for a mental activity which for so long had been denied full expression.

Holy Year falling during his sojourn in Rome, Gracián wrote in Italian "a large book on the Jubilee"[1] (*Jubilee of the Holy Year*, Rome, 1599), to "give light" to pilgrims who visited the Eternal City, and also the "brief summary of confession and communion"[2] afterwards incorporated in *The Burning Lamp*. In 1602, while in Valencia, he published a "Summary of the excellences, life, miracles and death of the patriarch Saint Joseph," to whom St. Teresa had had such devotion : in its numerous late editions this is frequently known by the short title of *Josephina*. Each stage in his life history now has its corresponding publication. His visit to Rome was signalized by a book, written in Italian, entitled *Suffrage of the souls in purgatory*. In Rome, too, he appears to have composed part or the whole of an important book,[3] the *Elucidation concerning the true spirit*, known briefly in Spanish as the *Dilucidario*, or, less commonly and less correctly, *Lucidario*, which was first published in Madrid in 1604. In the words of its lengthy title, it "treats of union, ecstasy, rapture, visions and revelations" and "proves and expounds the doctrine of the books of the Mother Teresa de Jesús and other spiritual writings."

The publication in Madrid of the *Elucidation* (1604) had been preceded by the issue in 1601 of a work entitled *The Heavenly Road*, a kind of text-book on mystical theology based on the writings of St. Bonaventura and others, with expositions of their doctrine by the author. The different editions of this book, and their various forms, are described in our Bibliography, and their content is summarized in the next section of this chapter. It is sufficient here to say that Gracián was not (on his own testimony)[4] satisfied with the adaptation of St. Bonaventura, which he

[1] Dedicatoria to edition of *Lámpara encendida*, Madrid, 1604.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The only testimony is in *Peregrinación*, p. 189, but this says quite clearly "though I wrote it in Rome."

[4] Dedicatoria to the edition of Valencia, 1607 (Bibl., No. 1343).

thought lacking in the clarity and simplicity essential to such treatises. It is not even certain, from his reference to it, how much of the work was his own : the translation certainly is by another hand.[1] The book was re-issued by him, however, in Valencia (1607), with the significant title of *Mystical Theology*, and is now described as being a " summary of St. Bonaventura's writings on the true heavenly road, with a compilation and exposition of the three Ways, namely, the Active, Contemplative and Unitive." This completes the list of the books published by Gracián in Spain.

After mentioning a *Book of Rule and Discipline*, dated from Venice in 1611, we may pass to the books published in Brussels. Here Gracián devoted a considerable proportion of his time to writing, and his reputation must have been considerable, for he republished nearly all his principal works : the *Elucidation* (1608) and the *Mystical Theology*, *Josephina* and *Burning Lamp* (1609). While revising these books, he was also writing more, for no sooner had they appeared than a number of others began to issue from the presses of Brussels. Most of them, in one way or another, are directly concerned with his own experiences. The *Life of the Soul* (1609) attacks " those who set perfection in total annihilation." The *Catholic Soldier* (1611) is a series of conversations between a Protestant and two Catholic soldiers, which " proves with histories, examples and clear reasons, in a style both pleasing and profitable, that those who have no learning must not dispute concerning the faith with heretics ; it likewise holds up to abhorrence the heresies of our times and extols the Roman Church." The *Ten Lamentations on the miserable estate of atheists in our times* (1611) is of great interest, attacking not only unbelievers, but also illuminists, quietists and various types of heretic. The *Virtues and Foundations of the Holy Mother Teresa de*

[1] Dedicatoria to the Madrid edition, reprinted in the Valencian edition, p. 5 : " Aunque el que le tradujo, y recopiló la primera vez, no trabajó poco : todavía me parece que (pues V.S. le quiere hacer imprimir de nuevo para su hija Ana María de Corpus Christi, Carmelita descalza) sería bien le limase más el estilo que lleva. . . ."

Jesús (1611) shows that Gracián was eager to spread a knowledge of his devoted coadjutor and friend, no doubt the more so in view of the steps that were being taken toward her beatification. In the following year he returned to pure theology with his *Discourses on the Mysterious Name of Mary* (1612) and the *Conceptions of Divine Love on the "Song of Songs"* (1612), with its more curious than edifying "Brief art of loving God." The *Conceptions* is inspired mainly by St. Teresa's similarly entitled treatise, and, unlike most of Gracián's books written in Brussels, was re-published at later dates in Spain, to be expunged from his works, however, by a decree of 1632 which forbade the publication of commentaries on the *Canticles*.

In the following year (1613) Gracián returned to more subjective themes, and wrote his *Pilgrimage of Anastasius*, which, published in modern times by the Discalced Carmelites of Burgos, has added greatly to our knowledge of his life. It consists of a series of dialogues—more correctly, of monologues with interruptions by a listener—"concerning the persecutions, trials, tribulations and crosses suffered by P. Fr. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios from his taking of the Discalced Carmelite habit down to the year 1613." The author's continual self-justification and his insistence on his physical sufferings make this autobiography too frequently painful reading, but its frankness, fullness and individuality give it, as a document, the highest value.

Active to the very end of his life, Gracián was writing and publishing still when death overtook him. His *Leviathan* and *Art of Holy Dying* both bear the date 1614, and, as our Bibliography will show, fresh books of his continued to be published for some time posthumously. Some of his minor works, indeed, are still being edited for the first time or await publication ; to the latter class belong the *Arbor Salutis*, a manual on confession, and the *Seven Treasures of Perfection*, which, based on the Seven Words from the Cross, is deeply devotional in spirit. More important, however, than

either of these is the collection of *Dialogues on the death of Saint Teresa*, published by P. Silverio in 1913 and rightly described by him as "lively, animated and very readable, written in the purest of styles and with a freedom both singular and charming." Unlike the better known dialogues of Alonso de Orozco, Luis de León and Juan de los Ángeles, they are not wholly concerned with doctrine, though the chapter on true and false visions and revelations has some doctrinal value. The interest of the book lies in its Teresan reminiscences and in the curious way in which the author splits up, as it were, his own personality, endowing each of his three characters with some part of it. To Cirilo, the least attractive of the three, he gives his learning; to Anastasio, his "lively temper and acuteness of understanding," and to Eliseo, his "pliable disposition and mild and gentle manner of speech." Interesting as it is to find here a composite self-portrait of so striking a character as Gracián, one's interest is subordinated, in reading the book, to a regret that he never in his life attempted drama.

III

The mystical teaching of Jerónimo Gracián already points to the epoch which reached its height after his death, and in which records of individual experience and deductions from them began to give way to compilations from the works of others and synthetic expositions of mystical theology considered as a science. Such compilations, and to a lesser degree such systematizations, were made during the entire period in which mysticism flourished in Spain. But after experiential mysticism had reached heights, with St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, which could hardly be surpassed, if so much as reached again, a new tendency set in of which Gracián is the most prominent exponent. The words which St. Teresa uses in her letter, already quoted, imply that, though he was not always willing to confess the fact, he had had personal experience of mystical

favours of a quite definite kind. Yet his general aim is to teach, not on the authority of his own experience, but on that of hers, and on that of the great doctors of past ages. In each of his chief mystical works, which we are now to examine, this purpose will be seen to predominate.

The treatise *On Mental Prayer*, which forms the second part of the *Burning Lamp*, and was probably the earliest book of its kind that Gracián wrote, begins by disclaiming any intention "of doing more than summarize briefly and in few words what certain men have written in copious treatises on mental prayer and its parts and give counsels wherewith it may be introduced to those who are beginning to follow its path."[1] The chief of these writers are apparently St. Basil, St. Bernard and St. Bonaventura. They are not quoted verbally, however, nor is any book so quoted, save the Bible. The two contemporary mystics referred to, Fray Luis de Granada and St. Peter of Alcántara, are spoken of with the greatest respect.

The book opens with the usual definitions of mental prayer, and the usual commendation of holy reading as a preparation for exercise in it.[2] "The Gospels and Divine Scriptures, the commandments of God, the articles of the Faith and all Christian doctrine" are suggested as suitable material, together with the "rules and constitutions of the reader's estate."[3] Then may come any books which move the soul's affections and provide meditations for morning and evening: here are recommended both Fray Luis de Granada and St. Peter of Alcántara, whom St. Teresa had recommended, also in conjunction, earlier.[4]

In this book, as continually hereafter, may be noticed the shrewdness with which Fray Jerónimo selects advice of a practical kind and the terseness with which he conveys it. Continually, across his pages, even the most sententious or didactic ones, there flit,

[1] *De la Oración Mental*, ed. Madrid, 1604 (Bibl., No. 1339), *Prólogo*, fol. 69r.
[2] *Op. cit.*, chaps. 1–3. [3] Chap. 3; *ed. cit.*, fol. 80r.
[4] *Cf.* p. 101, n. 5, above, and p. 169, below.

not indeed the sunbeams of St. Teresa's humour, but at least the rays of her illumining good sense. His counsels on what books to choose, and how to read them, are excellent, and the recommendations to pick a few points likely to be profitable, and to follow one's thoughts —not to recall them by force—when they wander back to some past meditation, show an understanding of the human mind which does credit to a companion of the great Mother. Further, though recognizing as normal the steps to contemplation which he describes, Gracián acknowledges from the outset that not everyone is able to follow them :

> It is to be noted that there are many who have no talent, brain or aptitude for meditation and reasoning, yet to whom God is wont to give most excellent contemplation, with interior quiet and recollection ; and such as these, if they give themselves to prayer and attempt to meditate with great labour (*a fuerza de brazos*) have no success, and give it up, disappointed and mistrustful of their ability to pray at all. And since the spirit of contemplation, quiet and devotion at which they aim comes not always when first they betake themselves to prayer, some of them have found it profitable to take a book and read it slowly and calmly, in a state of recollection, and in the very reading thereof the Lord raises their spirit to loftiest contemplation, preceded by no other kind of meditation whatsoever.[1]

The same commendation may be given to the chapter on meditation, which is defined as " a reasoning of the thought and understanding which incites the will to some virtue." [2] The warnings against attempts to meditate *a fuerza de brazos*, against the excessive use, at this stage, of the imagination, and the failure to use the understanding, may not be original, but are picked out skilfully from much conventional or irrelevant material and presented clearly :

> Many set all their endeavour upon the calling up, with the imagination, of inward images and similitudes of the subject of their meditation, and if their head fail them so that they cannot

[1] Chap. 3 ; *ed. cit.*, fols. 79v., 80r. [2] Chap. 4 ; *ed. cit.*, fol. 81r.

call them up, they desist from prayer. . . . They forget that inward images are unnecessary for true meditation, and that good arguments with the understanding are sufficient.[1]

Like García de Cisneros, St. Peter of Alcántara and others, Jerónimo Gracián provides a weekly plan for meditation which, though somewhat artificial, is so full and detailed as to offer considerable scope for variation. To correspond to the seven days of the week, he finds, not only (i) seven principles of good living, but (ii) seven mysteries in the life of Christ, (iii) seven cardinal virtues, and (iv) seven points for meditation in the rule of a religious. Thus, his weekly time-table, though similar to that of St. Peter of Alcántara, and perhaps based upon it, is more serviceable than any we have yet encountered.[2] Once more, we may note the manner in which Gracián links together those two contemporaries whom modern criticism has set, as it were, at variance. "Let the reading of the meditation be in Fray Pedro de Alcántara and in the compilation of Fray Luis de Granada, for there these points are well expressed." [3]

The nature and conditions of contemplation are next discussed,[4] but, after a brief and general treatment

[1] Chap. 4; *ed. cit.*, fol. 82v.

[2] I give the subjects for meditation in the order indicated above: comparison with other plans described in this volume is easy:

SUNDAY. 1. The glory of the blessed. 2. The Resurrection and Ascension, with the Descent to Limbo and the appearances to Our Lady and others. 3. Faith, hope and love. 4. Obedience. MONDAY. 1. Our creation, preservation and redemption. 2. The washing of the Apostles' feet and the Lord's Supper. 3. Humility. 4. Outward circumspection. TUESDAY. 1. Our past and present sins, their number and enormity. 2. The Agony and Taking of Christ in the Garden. 3. Contrition. 4. Penitence. WEDNESDAY. 1. Brevity of this life and illusion of worldly joys. 2. Desertion, betrayal and ill-treatment of Christ. 3. Contempt for oneself and the world. 4. Religious poverty. THURSDAY. 1. The death, burial and corruption of the body. 2. The Crowning with thorns and bearing of the Cross to Calvary. 3. Reverence and fear toward Christ and diligence in His service. 4. Silence. FRIDAY. 1. Last Judgment. 2. Calvary. Parting of the garments. Nailing to the Cross. Desertion of Christ by the disciples. Sorrows of Mary. 3. Zeal for souls. 4. Enclosure. SATURDAY. 1. Hell and eternity of punishment. Death of Christ. Piercing with the lance. Descent from the Cross. Burial. 2, 3, 4. Devotion to our Lady and imitation of her virtues.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 88v. *Cf.* pp. 101, 167, above.

[4] Chap. 6; *ed. cit.*, fols. 90, ff.

of this theme, Gracián goes on to write of thanksgiving and petition, returning only in his last two chapters to deal with the "twelve chief effects" which are born of contemplation and which are treated (he says) at greater length in a book "on the examination of spirits" that he hopes in due course to publish.[1] The cardinal points of his summary[2] may be set out below, if only to show how differently he writes on the mystical life from his precursor and teacher, St. Teresa.

1. Interior attention. A recognition of the perfections of God, and to that extent an experience of His Presence.

It raises the soul above itself and sets it to attentive contemplation of the things of its Lord. When thus intent, the soul dares not stir, nor take its eyes from that Divine spectacle, but gradually it becomes ever more aflame, more fervent and more deeply penetrated with light and with desire, and receives the abundance which comes to it from the Divine Presence. So great is the impetus[3] thereof that it comes to pass at times that, being unable to bear it, the soul breaks out into fervent and wondrous interior acts or into words of endearment and love.[4]

2. Wonder (*Admiración*). "An interior amazement or affright" which arises from the soul's consideration of the greatness of God, and causes it to soar aloft in contemplation and withdraw ever more from the creatures.[5]

3. Compassion for Christ, arising from consideration of the Passion and

the inward realization of the magnitude and the severity of the pains which Christ suffered, and the loveliness and beauty of the Beloved. The soul is moved by the power of love; it feels, as it were, that which He suffered, and there comes to it an interior melting, and a tenderness so great that with the tears which flow from the eyes and the emotion which arises from the feelings

[1] So chap. 12. If this was, as would appear, the *Dilucidario*, that book must have been planned while Gracián was still a Discalced Carmelite, and its composition, to say nothing of its publication, postponed over the whole period of his troubles. *Cf.* pp. 163, 174.

[2] Chaps. 11–12.

[3] *Cf.* p. 160, above.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 109r.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 109v.

described above, great harm would be done to the bodily health, were it not sustained by the strength of the spirit.[1]

4. Exercise of interior acts. The exercise of such good thoughts and such desires for the virtues as have come to the soul in contemplation. By this means the contemplative obtains a progressive increase in virtue.[2]

5. Enlargement (*Engrandecimiento*). The soul's increasing sense of the great worth of Divine things amplifies its desires and leads it into a "Divine enthusiasm" for God's service.[3]

6. Union.

> A bond between Christ and the soul which, after contemplating His greatness, resolves to will and desire naught else than that which God works in it. It makes no petition, save for the honour and glory of Christ, counting itself to be annihilated and undone (*aniquilado y deshecho*) and this Lord to have entered into its place and to live within it. In such an estate of union the soul performs all the acts, repeats the words and harbours the thoughts which, given the same conditions . . ., Christ would perform, repeat and harbour in its place.[4]

The results of this "estate of union" are various: an ambition to do great things for God; a "most profound humility"; a fervent charity; and a diligent perseverance. This union, in short, is "the end and summit and goal of all contemplation, which the apostle St. Paul had attained when he said: 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.'"[5]

7. Wisdom of Contemplation. The advent to the soul of "great and delicate conceptions concerning the chiefest mysteries of our faith" or the virtues and the perfections of God. This "wisdom," Gracián believes to be good "so long as it is concerned with virtues and perfections"; but "in so far as the conceptions are lofty, refined and speculative," he

[1] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 110r.
[2] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 110v.
[3] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 111r.
[4] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 112r.
[5] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 112v.

continues, "I do not account it very safe in understandings that are rude and of no great ability." [1]

> For until we reach Heaven, where we shall see God and know the loftiest secrets in the Divine Essence, we do better to love and fear Him, obey Him and keep His law and commandments perfectly, than to go about wasting time in speculation on refined conceptions. . . . It is a kind of daring (*atrevimiento*) to desire to know about these things, with more light than God is pleased to grant us. . . . In women or rude folk it is better that the end of contemplation were virtue than wisdom.[2]

8. Favours in prayer (*Gustos de oración*). These, the interior consolations and delights which come from contemplation, are classed as: (i) "mirth" (*júbilo*), an exhilaration which lasts but a short time and finds vent in happy laughter [3]; (ii) "spiritual joy," "a peacefulness and security . . . which tranquillizes a man inwardly and makes him outwardly joyful: his face is circumspect and grave, yet likewise merry, and his spirit is glad and ready to do service for the Lord" [4]; (iii) "inebriation of the spirit," a "most impetuous affection of the soul which blinds human prudence to the things of the world and reveals the excellence of the service of God." [5] The analogy with physical inebriation is described in what may be thought excessive detail.

9. Impetus [6] is the name given to the "most powerful desires" which "move the heart to fervour, devotion, zeal, swooning, interior fire of the spirit and death of love." [7] Each of these manifestations is described separately. Fervour is apt to be harmful, and should be restrained "lest afterwards the soul grow dry and barren, just as [adds Gracián with Teresan homeliness] when the pot boils the gravy must be kept from bubbling over." [8] Devotion and zeal hardly call for comment, and swooning (conceived in the literal sense)

[1] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 113r.
[2] *Ed. cit.*, fols. 113v., 114r
[3] *Cf.* St. Teresa's teaching here (*S.S.M.*, I, p. 200).
[4] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 116r.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Cf.* p. 160, above.
[7] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 117r.
[8] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 117v

is described in the mystic's usual terms.[1] Fire of the spirit is easily counterfeited by the senses in those whose chief desire is for emotions and non-spiritual joys; yet the true "fire of love" can be recognized at once because, while it enkindles the soul, it "cools the appetite, inflames the spirit but tempers the burning of lust . . . and is the source of chaste thoughts."[2] Of the "death of love" (Cant. viii, 6) hardly anything at all is said.[3]

10. Visions and revelations. These are classified almost precisely after the manner of St. Teresa.[4] Little more information is given about them: Gracián has already (chapter vi) touched lightly on this subject; he now adds warnings against possible deception by false visions.[5]

11. Ecstasy and rapture. These are treated as being identical. Gracián first draws a distinction between ecstasy and sleep, and then, in a lengthy passage, perhaps based on some eloquent pages from Osuna,[6] gives a number of definitions of ecstasy, some of them more poetical than exact. It is a "soaring or flight of the soul above the measure of its natural powers," "a profound sleep of the soul wherein the understanding and the will are watching," "a withdrawal of the soul to its most secret hiding-place," "a prayer of recollection," "the soul's forgetfulness of all that it was wont to remember," "a Divine perturbation," the spiritual counterpart of physical disturbances which are accurately described. He goes on to warn his readers that some ecstasies are only apparent.[7]

12. Strife with demons. The "visible strife with demons" experienced by some contemplatives is described only briefly, and chiefly by means of illustrations. Such strife is permitted by God so that the warrior's final reward may be the greater.[8]

With repeated warnings against false visions, apparent raptures, inordinate desires for "sweetness,"

[1] *Ed. cit.*, fols. 118–19.
[2] *Ed. cit.*, fols. 119v., 120r.
[3] *Ed. cit.*, fol. 120v.
[4] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 191–201.
[5] *Ed. cit.*, fols. 121–4.
[6] Partly quoted in *Survey*, pp. 181–4, and reproduced in English, pp. 62–6.
[7] *Ed. cit.*, fols. 128–34, *passim*.
[8] *Ed. cit.*, fols. 134–5.

intolerance of aridity, etc., the book comes to an end. In style it is concise and clear. Skilfully constructed, it uses its sources with the art that conceals art. Though in spirit it often recalls St. Teresa, it can hardly be said to be inspired by her except in occasional passages. She is never directly quoted, and in content her writings are not infrequently departed from. With what book or passage of St. Teresa can the pages just analyzed be compared, apart from those on visions?

The *Elucidation*[1] is much more closely concerned with St. Teresa than is the treatise *On Mental Prayer*. It begins by defending her writings in general against those who object to her frequent mentions of rapture and ecstasy, or who disapprove of woman writers altogether. Gracián himself, it appears, was opposed at one time to the wide circulation of books on mystical subjects, taking up an attitude not unlike that of Juan de Ávila[2] to which we have already alluded. But since he has seen the good effects of them he has changed his mind; he was indeed (he claims) the person who commanded St. Teresa to write the *Mansions*,[3] and he considers even so lofty a work as this quite suitable for general reading by those in sympathy with it.

> Many persons there are who live well and are contented with refraining from sin, yet have no desire to tread the path of the spirit and of mental prayer. But reading this doctrine [of St. Teresa] they have taken courage and determination to walk in the way of the spirit, and along this road have climbed to the highest degree of virtue and merit.[4]
>
> Persons there are who were lukewarm in prayer and by reading these books have become more fervent and have raised their spirit to the highest degree of contemplation. . . .
>
> These books describe no artifices by which the heights of prayer may be reached, other than purity, humility, the love of

[1] In referring to this book, the 1616 edition of Gracián's works (*Obras*) has been used throughout.

[2] See p. 138, above, and *cf.* pp. 365–9, below.

[3] As to this, see *Obras de Santa Teresa*, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. iv, pp. ix–x. Gracián uses the verb "commanded" (*Obras*, ed. 1616, fol. 29v.) and also "persuaded" (*Obras*, fol. 6r.).

[4] *Obras*, fol. 7r.

God and perseverance in prayer, and in many parts they teach with the greatest insistence that no account must be taken of extraordinary impressions or things supernatural.[1]

After these and other preliminary remarks, Gracián proceeds to discuss the nature and sources of "true spirit"—*i.e.*, "thought and desire that comes from God and is good, holy and reasonable,"[2] its aims, its dwellings (*moradas*) and the hindrances (*estorbos*) which it meets, his aim being to help those "who have experience of prayer, but are perturbed by much that happens to them therein."[3] He divides "true spirit" into natural (*e.g.* desires for virtue), obtainable by man's industry, and supernatural, which again is divided into "infused spirit given from above," and "acquired spirit, which we can obtain and win for ourselves."[4] The latter is "that which (assuming that we have faith) we possess and gain by labouring with the exercise of meditation, or with good words and actions." The former "God gives to whom He wills and as He wills," as "the gifts of the Holy Spirit, graces *gratis datas* and other Divine favours."[5] Some think that true spirit consists only in feelings, emotions, visions, revelations and suchlike things.[6] Gracián always writes respectfully of visions, denying that they are necessarily delusions and warning those that read of them not to think it impossible that they themselves may experience them.[7] But he refuses to make them a test of progress. The love of God, he says elsewhere, depends no more upon raptures and the sleep of the faculties than the love of a bride and a bridegroom depends upon the sleep of their servants.[8]

Though Gracián is not drawing exclusively on St. Teresa now (as even the defenders of "acquired contemplation"[9] will admit) it will be seen throughout how he depends upon her teaching. "True spirit" he proceeds to compare with water coming from "twelve

[1] *Obras*, fol. 7v. [2] *Ibid.*, fol. 8v. [3] *Ibid.*, fol. 8r.
[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 8v. *Cf.* pp. 95, above, and 303–6, below. [5] *Obras*, fol. 8v.
[6] *Ibid.*, fol. 11r. [7] *Ibid.*, fol. 22r. [8] *Ibid.*, fol. 62r.
[9] *Cf.* pp. 303–6, below.

tanks or reservoirs whence flow the hundred springs of the spirit," a manifest reminiscence of the *Book of her Life*. The twelve reservoirs are : purity of conscience ; observance of the laws of God and precepts of the Church ; the practice of virtues ; desires and petitions (as those of the Lord's Prayer) ; enlargement of the spirit (as exemplified in the Magnificat) ; the virtues of the Beatitudes ; the earthly rewards pertaining to them ; the marks of charity (as in 1 Corinthians xiii) ; the affections of Divine love ; the gifts of the Holy Spirit ; the fruits of the Spirit ; and graces *gratis datas*.[1]

The aims of true spirit are six ; they are described by the Latin names which they bear in " mystical theology " : (1) Puritas elevata vel oculus simplex ; (2) Lux inaccessibilis vel vertex theologiae mysticae ; (3) Amor seraphicus vel supremus gradus dilectionis ; (4) Unio consummata ; (5) Quies in dilecto vel centrum animae ; (6) Contactus divinitatis vel vita in Christo.[2] Gracián treats of these aims partly to provide a clearly marked target for the arrows of the contemplative, partly to humble those who believe themselves to have progressed farther than they have in reality, and partly because the exposition illustrates and confirms the teaching of St. Teresa and others.[3] The last aim of true spirit, and " the end of all perfection," is " that the soul may do, say and think that which Christ would do, say and think, were He in the place of the soul." [4] It may well be thought that such an ideal (which Gracián has already set before his readers) [5] lies on a somewhat different plane from that of the foregoing discussion.

The mansions of true spirit are next described, the author's inspiration being again St. Teresa's *Mansions*, which, indeed, he is largely expounding in this section. The first part of the *Elucidation* concludes with an exposition of no less than forty hindrances to the attainment of perfection—various sins, mortal or venial, which it is unnecessary here to detail. The second part is more advanced, treating of seven " favours " which

[1] *Obras*, fols. 9–16. [2] *Ibid.*, fol. 22v. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 23r. [5] *Cf.* p. 171, § 6, above.

God gives in prayer : union, ecstasy and rapture, visions and revelations, favours and consolations, impetus of the heart, heavenly converse and outward miraculous bodily signs. Under "union" every conceivable way in which God communicates Himself to the soul seems to be included, and no one phase of union is given special prominence.[1] It is worth noticing, however, that the union which comes "without loss of the faculties" is said to be definitely "better and surer than that which comes with raptures and alienation of the senses or with extraordinary affections," and a long chapter [2] is devoted to proof of this and personal corroborative testimony. "Many a time," adds Gracián, "did the Mother Teresa de Jesús speak with me concerning this matter, bewailing very earnestly the error and mistakenness that there was in the world concerning it." [3]

Three more long chapters are devoted to a detailed consideration of ecstasy and rapture,[4] a great many authorities being quoted here, and three more to visions and revelations.[5] By favours and consolations are meant such manifestations as jubilation, inebriation and satisfaction, which Gracián treats under the general head of "sweetness" (*dulzuras*) : they are never to be sought for or remained in. A chapter on tribulations and how to glory in them follows this, as though to counteract it.[6] The three kinds of "impetus" described are desires for suffering and death, desires for purity, and zeal for souls.[7] Outward physical marks of grace, such as bodily illumination, stigmata, levitation and unusual strength are in no way signs of progress [8] : "the holiest man is he who most loves God and his neighbour." [9] By "heavenly converse" is meant, not supernatural communication with the saints, but "imitation of their virtues and remembrance of them, as though we had them before us." [10]

A final chapter deals with "illusions of the devil"

[1] Part II, chaps. 1–7.
[2] Chap. 7.
[3] *Ibid.* (*Obras*, fol. 64r.).
[4] Chaps. 8–10.
[5] Chaps. 11–13.
[6] Chaps. 14–15.
[7] Chaps. 16–17.
[8] Chap. 18.
[9] *Ibid.* (*Obras*, fol. 88r.).
[10] Chap. 19 (*Obras*, fol. 88v.).

which may beset those in the Mystic Way, but this is devoted, not to the subtler forms of illusion, but to such sins as idolatry, heresy, pride, sensuality and disobedience, which are in no sense the peculiar temptations of the mystic.

Little space need be devoted to Gracián's redactions of St. Bonaventura,[1] since they are neither as characteristic nor as important as his original works. The first of these (Madrid, 1601) has, as we have said,[2] very little in it by Gracián at all. The second (Valencia, 1607),[3] and what is probably the third (*Itinerary of the ways of Perfection*, published in the collected edition of 1616) are very similar. Both, after formal preliminaries, define the three traditional Ways, and both the eight chapters of the earlier and the twelve of the later develop their theme by means of this division. The latter contains rather more of Gracián than the former, and is a little the more readable of the two. The Saint's "nine stages of perfection" are reproduced, and in the main defended, but are not made more intelligible by the exposition. Though the book condemns St. Bonaventura's "difficult and obscure language"[4] the artificiality of its own attempts at expounding him is hardly less perplexing, as any detailed analysis will show.

A further redaction of St. Bonaventura, published posthumously at Brussels in 1617, but said by Nicolás Antonio to have appeared first in the same city eight years earlier, is more individual than the foregoing. Its title-page makes it sufficiently evident that, unlike the preceding redactions, it draws upon other authors than St. Bonaventura, and the prologue describes it as having been compiled by Gracián from the "masters of mystical theology" for the profit of those who "walk in this way."

[1] *Cf.* Bibl., Nos. 1342–6, below. [2] *Cf.* pp. 163–4, above.

[3] This redaction contains also (with fresh pagination but no title-page or name of author): "Lucha o combate espiritual del alma con sus afectos desordenados," a non-mystical treatise, not given by Nicolás Antonio in his long list of Gracián's works, and therefore presumably by another hand.

[4] Prólogo.

That which I principally desire to do in this brief treatise is to give certain rules and exercises to direct a soul from the time of its spiritual re-birth in God . . . , taking it, as it were, by the hand through each of its ages, which are naught else than spiritual degrees, or steps of its progress, until it arrive at perfect union and transformation in God.[1]

In the first two parts he treats of "acquired mental prayer"; in the third, which is longer than the sum of the other two, of "supernatural mental prayer" or "mystical theology." A large proportion, nevertheless, of this third part is devoted to the preliminaries of supernatural prayer, and, when at length the author comes to Illumination and Union, he becomes vague and prolix in the extreme. The book, indeed, considered as a whole, is discursive and rambling; both paragraphs and chapters continually repeat themselves; and the progression of the argument is not always evident. That it is a compilation, and not in the accepted sense original, would not alone deprive it of a place in mystical history. What makes it of no great account is that it is not even a skilful compilation, but is the product of intellectual old age.

IV

One of the principal interests of a study of the lesser Spanish mystics is to be found in the varied attempts which they make to describe the life of contemplation and the varied extent to which, in so doing, they utilize the descriptions of precursors and contemporaries. Of the writers treated in our first volume, both St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross give organic accounts of the mystical life so intensely individual that their successors, even where they expound and comment upon them, do not attempt to make them their own. Both these accounts, however, can easily be squared with the threefold traditional scheme, which they amplify and in no

[1] Prólogo.

way contradict. Those among their contemporaries whose work we studied in our first volume are, for the most part, chiefly interested in one or more aspects of the mystical life and do not elaborate any systematic description of its entire course.

But most of the writers whom we are now studying consider it advisable at least to outline that course, and often fill in portions of it in some detail. García de Cisneros sub-divides his Purgative Way according to the usual formula representative of the entire mystical life and super-imposes upon it the two higher Ways, themselves somewhat vaguely and artificially divided, but characterized in the main by the soul's receptivity. Bernardino de Laredo envisages both the Purgative and the Illuminative Way as primarily devoted to systematic exercises in meditation, reserving the stage of receptivity for what we must call his Unitive Way, though this appears hardly to go beyond St. Teresa's fourth Mansion, the Prayer of Quiet. Laredo is, as we have said, the more original of the two writers, and we can hardly doubt that in parts of his book he is describing his own experience.

Jerónimo Gracián, so far as we have at present followed him, has given us nothing nearer a description of the mystical life than his twelve "effects of contemplation" and his six "aims of true spirit." In his *Life of the Soul*, however, a work shortly to be considered further, he gives an account corresponding approximately to the traditional scheme, but showing a curious feature which we have not yet encountered, and which demands some investigation. There are "two kinds of union." The first is "active, which the soul compasses by means of meditation (and the) imitation of Christ's Divinity." The second, "called by some passive," comes directly from God "in the soul prepared for it by purity, light and love." The soul has not here "to labour with meditation," but "forms within itself an image of Christ, as when the sun strikes a mirror." The second kind of union, adds Gracián, "we call deification of the soul, (like) the great Dionysius, who

describes those persons practised in this manner of prayer as Deiform." [1]

That Gracián is indebted to Dionysius is further clear from the three stages into which he divides each of these three kinds of prayer: annihilation of self, "Divine darkness" and a "multitude of concepts called light ineffable." It is not, however, his dependence on any authority that is of interest in this division, but the partition of the entire course into two exactly symmetrical portions, and the bold antithesis between "active" and "passive" contemplation which we shall take up again in a later chapter.

The bi-partite arrangement of the six stages which Gracián proposes must not obscure either the fact that he follows the traditional scheme, or the close, though by no means apparent, correspondence between his system and that of St. John of the Cross. The annihilative stage of "active union"—the last phrase, let it be remembered, is, though not a very happy one, Gracián's own—corresponds to the Purgative Way, the stage of "Divine darkness" being equivalent, if we slightly force the original application of the term, to St. John of the Cross' "Night of Sense." This leads to the third stage, which is evidently that of Illumination, and, though supernatural contemplation begins only with the new "annihilation of self," which will also come within the Illuminative Life, this means no more than that Gracián places the beginning of receptivity between the positions which it takes in Cisneros and in Laredo. The second period of "annihilation" and that of "Divine darkness"—*i.e.* the fourth and fifth stages—correspond to St. John of the Cross' Dark Night of the Spirit, and this leads in due course to the "light ineffable," which may be taken as approximating to Union.

This arrangement of the life of contemplation is adumbrated by Gracián only briefly, one part of it alone being developed—the meditations which are to be practised during "active union"—for reasons which

[1] *Vida del alma*, Brussels, 1609, chap. 5, fol. 8v.

we shall see hereafter. During the rest of his progress the mystic is left very largely to look after himself, and the absence of counsel, together with the vague use of the terms cited, and of the term "deification," makes it impossible for the description to have much practical value. But historically it is of importance, and because we shall later take it up in detail we have referred to it of necessity here.

V

One of the most interesting features in the history of Spanish mysticism in the seventeenth century is the almost imperceptible appearance, and the gradual development, of quietistic doctrines. When in a later volume we treat more fully of quietism, we shall consider the great significance of the fact that Jerónimo Gracián, a mystic trained in the school of St. Teresa, combats quietistic tendencies with vigour at the very beginning of the century. This fact alone is sufficient to disprove the oft-repeated statement that Falconi, a more immediate precursor of Molinos, is the "father of Spanish quietism," and we shall eventually see that the beginnings of the heresy in Spain went back farther still.

It is impossible, however, to postpone some treatment, however slight, of this subject, for no chapter purporting to give an account of Gracián's teaching would be complete without a mention of it. His zealous opposition to any form of quietism seems to have sprung originally from the repulsiveness to an active temperament of the idea that contemplation implied the suppression of activity or could be divorced from good works. This aversion could probably be traced back to his earliest writings, but it is so marked a feature of his character that to give more illustrations of it than will be found below is, in a brief study like the present, an unnecessary prolixity. His general attitude is described in a passage of the *Elucidation*. "Some," he writes, "in order not to cause themselves disquiet (*por no se inquietar*) nor lose a whit of their

repose, withdraw themselves apart . . . and think that to set about the business of God and the good of souls is to suffer harm." [1] This position, which he bluntly terms pure selfishness, he describes under the name of *quietud falsa*, and writes of it as though it were well established and not a merely individual idiosyncrasy.

The ninth and last of St. Bonaventura's stages of perfection, expounded at length by Gracián in the *Itinerary of the Ways of Perfection*, includes the elements of "Divine darkness and total annihilation." Since the precise parts played in this exposition by St. Bonaventura, Gracián and the unknown original translator cannot easily be defined, it would be unwise to lay too much stress upon its significance. Yet the emphatic disclaimer, beginning: "I do not mean that the soul, though united with Christ, must withdraw its will from the Virgin Mary and the saints or from fulfilling the Divine Law," has at least the appearance of having been added by the editor.

When we come to Gracián's latest works, we no longer need to depend upon isolated passages like these, or to wonder how far he is in reality declaiming against established doctrines. It becomes evident that his experiences in the Low Countries have reinforced those which he has gained at home, and that he can see in nascent quietism the beginnings of a dangerous heresy. In the prologue to his *Life of the Soul* (1609) he tells the Prior of the Carthusian monastery at Brussels how he has recently been preaching at great length upon a "manner of mental prayer which is taught by some who say that the perfection of prayer, the highest spirituality, and the summit and perfection to which the soul can attain in this life, is passive, immediate and unitive prayer, with total annihilation of all interior and exterior acts of the faculties and with interior cloud." [2]

The *Life of the Soul* is the first of a number of works written in Belgium in which Gracián endeavoured to disprove the truth of these opinions. It is an orderly treatise, starting from the concept of true perfection and

[1] *Dilucidario*, chap. 26 (*Obras*, fol. 45v.). [2] Lit., *niebla*, fog.

showing how the only kind of annihilation which this demands is that of self-will—that annihilation of the old man upon which Laredo had been so insistent.[1] From this it passes to consider what is meant by unitive prayer in the language and experience of orthodox mysticism. Of the twenty chapters of the book, the last thirteen comprise a series of meditations on the life of Christ, from the Nativity to the Ascension ; the author is not content, that is to say, with merely negative teaching, but seeks to oppose a constructive scheme of meditation to the teaching of those who hold that to meditate is "imperfection." [2]

The earlier chapters of the book are of less interest for their attacks upon "immediate prayer," which are developed more fully in the books which follow, than for the disposition of the mystical life which we have already considered. Clearly in this book Gracián's aim is to combat error by holding up the truth to confound it, for apart from declaring with some frequency that those who teach complete passivity in the expectation of being granted Union are in error, he refers to them but little.

A later book, however, the *Leviathan* (1614), is wholly concerned with denouncing "certain errors . . . evil customs and vanities . . . wherewith the devil strives subtly to destroy the grace and perfection of souls." One of these is "the love of God as ill understood, when for a mockery of passive union the obligations of the active life are allowed to slide." [3] From what follows, it is evident that Gracián is now attacking quietism on perhaps its weakest side. Union with Christ, he writes, has two parts :

> The one is that which God works in the soul, and the soul receives and suffers when it receives the Divine influence of grace and love. The other is due to the operation of free-will in the soul when it disposes itself to receive this Divine motion wherewith it attains love. The more perfect part of this union is that which comes from God ; and herein are many deceived, considering perfection to reside wholly in this first part, which they call passive

[1] *Cf.* pp. 55–6, above.
[2] *Op. cit.*, chap. 19.
[3] *Obras*, ed. 1616, fol. 336v.

union, saying that to perform works in the active life is imperfection, and likewise calling the interior acts of the free-will imperfect, when it is moved by God. Thus, teaching that the soul should follow perfection, and flee from imperfections, they desire to practise no virtues, but to remain without doing aught save wait for God to work alone in them.

This error has deprived many of grace, of perfection and even of faith. Of grace, because this is not acquired without acts of penitence and exercises in virtue proceeding from the free-will. . . . Of perfection, because the soul is more perfect when it works together with God than when it is suspended and makes no act of love, or is in union without interior or exterior working. . . . And this error has deprived many heretics of the Catholic Faith . . . for these teach that vocal prayers, pilgrimages and good works should not be practised.[1]

The principal work, however, in which Jerónimo Gracián inveighs against the quietists is the *Ten Lamentations* (1611) the fifth section of which deals with the "evil spiritual doctrine taught by some Catholics" in books which he has seen written in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Flemish and French. Their false teaching he sums up as the identification of perfection with "union essential, immediate, passive, momentary, dark and hidden, with total annihilation, suspension, revelations and spiritual consolations of the soul in fruitive love."[2] The definition, which seems to be a composite one,[3] is, as he rightly says, obscure and difficult to understand; the disputes it engenders profit neither learned men nor simple. In order to show its peril he discusses it phrase by phrase.

To describe Union as being "essential," he says, suggests that it alone is necessary, and that the Christian should not ask God for anything else. To call it "immediate" implies that (as some teach) it is imperfection to see God through the creatures and still more

[1] *Obras*, ed. 1616, fol. 337r.

[2] *Diez lamentaciones*, etc., Brussels, 1611, p. 140. "Perfección es unión esencial, inmediata, pasiva, momentánea, caliginosa y oculta, con total aniquilación, suspensión, revelaciones y gustos espirituales del alma, en el amor fruitivo."

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 151–2.

so to use images for purposes of devotion. If Union is "passive," the active life and the performance of good works are imperfection and waste of time. If it is "momentary," vocal prayer, the daily offices and even the Mass are imperfection and must be abandoned for inward contemplation, which becomes the only kind of worship. By "dark" (*caliginosa*) union, is meant that the soul that would be perfect must leave all outward things, even the virtues, in order to enter "the inward darkness and mist" of its own being. If perfection consists in Union which is "hidden," all outward forms of religion are superfluous, and monks and nuns have no more claim to the title of "religious" than any other persons. "Total annihilation" is quite indefensible and "opens the door to Lutheranism"—though it is not here explained how. To make "suspension" a condition of perfection implies a misunderstanding of the New Testament. To call "visions and revelations" perfection admits the worst heresies, such as that of illuminism, which arises from pride. And those who set perfection in "spiritual consolations" are sacrificing the most fundamental of all the petitions man makes to God so that they may experience the sweetness of mental prayer.[1]

While not denying that in Herp, whom, with Tauler, Ruysbroeck and Blosius, these authors mainly use, there are passages which lend themselves to this idea of Christian perfection, Jerónimo Gracián attributes the blame principally to the misinterpretations of those who have adapted them ; they have even twisted the sense of his own *Elucidation*, so as to make him one of the sources of such ideas.[2] He ends by referring his readers to a brief *Apologia* which he has written against these doctrines, and which appears to be the tract reprinted in the 1616 edition of his writings.[3]

This *Apologia* is directed against "certain persons that set the highest perfection in immediate unitive prayer with total annihilation of the soul," and lays down twelve propositions held by these teachers, "in their

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 141–50.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 154–5.
[3] *Obras*, ed. 1616, fols. 211–14.

very words, which were given me in writing," in order afterwards to refute them. The historical importance of these propositions is sufficient to justify their being reproduced in full. From the sixth proposition it will be observed that St. Teresa's doctrine was being attacked by these false teachers for precisely the opposite reason to that for which it has since been attacked as quietistic.

1. That the highest perfection, and the perfect life of the soul, consists in immediate union with Christ, when, without the mediation of any creature, and with total annihilation of all interior and exterior acts, the soul with all its powers is united with Truth Uncreated, which is God. And that the soul should only make one petition and prayer to God,—namely, that He will give it this union.

2. That vocal prayer is imperfection and an exercise for children, and that it should be abandoned, so that more time may be given to contemplation.

3. That he who says the Divine office (although it be of obligation for him) utters prayer which is imperfect, and that this should be abandoned for increased contemplation.

4. That the repetition of the Rosary of Our Lady and of other prayers to the saints should be abandoned, because the saints grieve at the honour which is paid to them.

5. That it is imperfection to celebrate masses in honour of the saints, and that—although the sacrifice of the Mass is not imperfect—the prayers and petitions which are offered therein are imperfect. And they counsel that masses be no more said to the saints (*que no se hagan decir misas a los santos*).

6. That meditation, the knowledge of God through the creatures, and all the exercises of the senses, both interior and exterior, and all the intellectual operations of the soul, and all other things pertaining to the senses and to the intellect, are imperfect, and must be abandoned, that the soul may enter with excess of spirit, as Moses entered, into silence and thick darkness. And that the Mother Teresa de Jesús had not reached the summit of perfection, because she says in her books that God must be sought through His creatures and that it shows a want of humility to seek to be a Mary before having laboured with Martha; and against this doctrine of the Mother Teresa they allege the words of the Lord: "It is expedient that I go away, for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you."

7. That to serve Our Lady and the Saints is imperfection and self-love.

8. That to go on pilgrimages is imperfection and self-love likewise.

9. That it is equally so to gain indulgences, and that when His Holiness grants these he is complying with the requests and petitions made to him by those who are imperfect.

10. That it is imperfection and self-love for a man to pray for his salvation.

11. That it is a great abuse to desire to do any good work with the hope of reward.

12. That it is imperfection to venerate images, and that to fashion them is to make idols. Wherefore they counsel that images be not made.[1]

It is beside the point for us to discuss some of these propositions, and hardly necessary to follow the precise arguments, drawn from the Councils and from the Bible, with which Gracián counters any of them. He brushes aside as a quibble the excuse, made by those who defend them, that by "imperfect" they mean only "less nearly perfect than union with God," and he finds additional reasons for their errors in their misinterpretations of the *Theologia Germanica* and the first chapter of Dionysius' *Mystical Theology*. They say that life in Christ is the highest perfection, and that, to live in Christ, one must die in oneself—*i.e.*, all one's interior and exterior acts must cease. The error of this conception, he proceeds, can only be shown by considering what life in Christ really means. And this, he adds, he has done in his *Burning Lamp*, to which he refers his readers as being a suitable antidote to this false teaching.

From what has been written above of Jerónimo Gracián, it will be seen that he has various claims to a prominent place in the history of Spanish mysticism. On the one hand, the individuality of his teaching, which follows St. Teresa only to a certain point, and beyond this develops new features, makes him one of the most important of Spain's post-Carmelite writers. On

[1] *Obras*, ed. 1616, fols. 211–14.

the other hand, he rendered no slight service to the Bonaventuran tradition in Spain by his adaptations and expositions above referred to. But it seems by no means impossible that, when Spain's definitive mystical history comes to be written, Gracián's greatest achievement may prove to be the series of tracts which he wrote in the last years of his troubled life and in his voluntary exile. That is to say, that he may come to be considered, neither as an original expositor, nor as a more or less skilful adapter, but as a stalwart defender of true mysticism against the enemies that even now were beginning to threaten it.

CHAPTER VII

AUGUSTINIAN MYSTICISM: ALONSO DE OROZCO

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I

"The most eminent figure among our mystical and ascetic writers." [1] Whether or no we are able to subscribe to this dictum of the Augustinian historian and critic, P. Ignacio Monasterio, which places the Beato Alonso de Orozco first among Spanish Augustinians and above St. Thomas of Villanueva, Pedro Malón de Chaide and Luis de León, it is at least undeniable that the claim thus made on his behalf excites our curiosity and predisposes us to a careful study of his writings.

A number of the details of Alonso de Orozco's long life are related in his partly autobiographical *Confessions*. From this work we learn that his birth (October 17, 1500) took place "in Oropesa, in the reign of the most Catholic queen Isabel of glorious memory." "My father," he continues, "was called Hernando de Orozco, and my mother, María de Mena. When I was eight years of age, they came to live at Talavera [de la Reina], five leagues from Oropesa. For some [about three] years I served in the [Collegiate] Church there, after which [*c.* 1511] they took me to the Cathedral of Toledo, where I served for three years. When I left Toledo, my father sent me to study at Salamanca, where an elder brother of mine was studying, and . . . we took the habit together in the monastery of our father Saint Augustine." [2] St. Thomas of Villanueva, it is interesting to note, was at that time Prior of the monastery.

This event, says Orozco, took place on the eve of Whitsunday, probably in the year 1522, though he says

[1] I. Monasterio, *Místicos agustinos españoles* (Bibl., No. 1487), vol. i, p. 142.

[2] *Confesiones*. *Obras*, ed. 1736 (Bibl., No. 1385: the edition of Orozco's works used throughout this chapter), vol. iii, p. 65. The explanatory insertions are mine.

also that it was in his twentieth year.[1] His brother, Francisco, died—"of an abscess in the foot," says the *Confessions*[2]—while still a novice, and it is some time afterwards before we again have news of Alonso. In 1528 he was a priest and we hear of him at Haro.[3] Perhaps before reaching the age of thirty,[4] he became Prior of the Augustinian houses at Soria and Medina del Campo successively; in the latter monastery we know that he had a serious illness and was given up by the doctors. Recovering in the end from this, he was probably transferred to Granada as Prior, where again he became gravely ill; when he was cured, he was sent as Visitor to the monasteries of the Canary Islands. Until the year 1557 he led an extremely active life, into all the details of which we cannot here follow him. In 1541 he went as Prior to Seville, and on November 12 of the same year was elected Definitor of his province. In 1544 he was Prior of Granada[5] and Visitor of Andalucía. In 1554[6] we find him Prior of Valladolid and in 1557 he presided at a provincial chapter as Vicar-General.[7]

These busy years were, however, punctuated with illnesses, which he describes in detail in his *Confessions*. At Seville, about 1542, he was laid aside with painful attacks of gout, and, several years later, in Teneriffe, he was again taken seriously ill with a malady of the nature of which nothing is known.[8] On this occasion he had gone to the Canary Islands, not as Visitor, but with some fellow-monks on the way to the mission

[1] Various authorities put the date at 1518, 1520, 1521, 1522 and 1523. The year given seems the most likely, and as Orozco adds "a lo que yo creo" to the statement of his age we are bound to admit the possibility of a miscalculation. Santiago Vela (Bibl., No. 1491) gives the dates of his entry into the Order and his profession as June 8, 1522, and June 9, 1523, respectively.

[2] *Op. cit.* (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 81).

[3] Santiago Vela, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 98.

[4] Santiago Vela (*op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 98) puts the Soria priorate at *c.* 1537–40 and that of Medina at *c.* 1540, referring the illness at Medina to an earlier stay there. But he acknowledges himself to be in the realm of conjecture.

[5] Probably for the second time. See above, and cf. *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 14.

[6] Santiago Vela makes the date 1557.

[7] Cf. *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 14; p. 196, below.

[8] Cf. *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 14.

field in Mexico. As a result of his illness, he returned to Spain with a medical prohibition to go abroad if he valued his life, and he records triumphantly that though thirty years have passed since that time he has never had a recurrence of the malady.

Alonso de Orozco began to add writing to his other activities when he was in Seville about the year 1542, in answer, as he believed, to a direct revelation from Heaven. "I saw in my dreams," he relates, "our Mother most pure, who spake to me this one word: 'Write.'"

> So great was the joy which I felt in my heart that I could not express it in words. . . . And when I awoke, I said: "O Queen of the Angels, I pray thee, if this vision be true, that thou wilt assure me that thou commandest me to write." And when I lay down to sleep that same night, I saw her once more, and she said to me: "Write."[1]

He must have set to work in earnest almost immediately, for in 1544 he published in Seville his first important book, the *Garden of Prayer and Mount of Contemplation*, which may have been preceded by a Latin work on St. Augustine,[2] of which the exact date is not known. After this beginning he probably continued to write steadily; in 1551 were published no less than three books from his pen: the *Chronicle of the Order of St. Augustine* and the *Examination of the Conscience* in Seville, where the *Garden of Prayer* had been re-issued three years previously, and the *Government of the Soul*, which prepared the way for his reputation in Valladolid.[3]

The first collected edition of his works, which was published at Valladolid, under his own editorship, in 1554, shows how considerably he had increased his production in the four years intervening.[4] He himself supervised this edition, not as a protest against piracy, as was the case with Juan de Ávila's *Audi, Filia*, but "because the carelessness of the printers [of the individual editions] has been great, and these editions are so corrupt that I certainly knew them not as my own."

[1] *Obras*, ed. 1736 (Bibl., No. 1385), vol. iii, p. 96.
[2] See Bibl., No. 1404.
[3] *Cf.* also Bibl., No. 1415.
[4] For its contents, see Bibl., No. 1380.

The volume was dedicated to Doña Juana, Infanta of Castile and Princess of Portugal, who was regent in Spain during one of the absences of Philip II.

The only other book of Orozco's published during this period which demands special notice here is the *Seven Words of the Virgin* (Valladolid, 1556), which is worthy of remark as containing a defence of the vernacular much earlier in date than the better known ones of the Augustinians Luis de León and Pedro Malón de Chaide. Though one of the earliest of his books was written in Latin, and he was to compose several more in that language, all the rest of the works already enumerated had been published in Spanish, and he was a convinced believer in the vernacular as an instrument of culture and learning. St. Athanasius, St. Basil and other Greek Doctors, he says in the prologue to the *Seven Words*, wrote in their mother tongue works which were afterwards translated into Latin, as did many learned Italians at a later date. "Only we Spaniards, lovers of outlandish clothes and foreign customs, despise what is written in our own language."[1]

During his residence in Valladolid, at that time the seat of the Spanish Court, Orozco was appointed Royal Preacher by Charles V (March 13, 1554), an office in which he continued under Philip II, who came to the throne two years later. All testimony points to his having been in high favour at Court, which may have been the reason for his removal to Madrid when the capital was moved to that city in 1560. But other evidence points to his having relinquished his office of Definitor at the end of its three-year term, in 1557,[2] with something like a determination to accept no other such office, but to retire from the active life and devote himself increasingly to contemplation. Accordingly, he took up his residence at the monastery of St. Philip (San Felipe el Real), where he lived for the remainder of his long life—for he died in his ninety-first year.

[1] *Siete palabras*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1431), Prólogo.

[2] According to Santiago Vela, however, he became Provincial in 1557; *cf.* also p. 194, above.

Confessor of royalty, yet favourite of the common people, Orozco earned in his lifetime the simple and picturesque title of " El Santo de San Felipe." That he wrote much during these thirty years of his old age is evident from his Bibliography ; that he preached much can be deduced from the large number of his books which are composed of sermons, or of sermons thinly disguised. But there is practically no further news of him, apart from details of his writings, until the very latest years of his life, and what there is comes mainly from his own *Confessions*. We learn, for example, that he preached in Toledo Cathedral as late as the Epiphany of 1589 and that he dreamed many times of his approaching end. No doubt such incidents as these are typical of the only things that there were to relate of his retirement.

One anecdote of peculiar charm may be chosen from the scores that characterize the simple spirit in which the *Confessions* are written. Early in 1591, the aged monk tells us, he was living in San Felipe, and found himself troubled so much by the noise of the bells that he was unable to sleep. A noble lady, Doña María de Aragón, hearing of this, offered to take him for a time into her house, an offer which he gratefully accepted. But no sooner was he there than he found that he had only exchanged one kind of distraction for another. It was so long since he had lived in any but a religious house that he had forgotten what life in a family was like. " And so," he records sorrowfully, " I had to lead the life of Martha." [1]

Orozco died, after an illness of no more than six weeks, on September 19, 1591. He was beatified on January 15, 1882. The impression that disengages itself from his *Confessions*, and cannot be entirely obscured even by the eulogies of his biographers, is one of a singular simplicity, carried to the point of *naïveté*, and of a sincerity and detachment which even St. Thomas of Villanueva hardly surpassed. Many a biographer's narrative of how his hero was courted by kings yet himself courted none sounds conventional and hollow beyond description.[2]

[1] *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 15.

[2] *Revista Agustiniana*, I, p. 89.

But Orozco's reason for his dislike of the title "Your Paternity" rings true. It was more appropriate to God, he said, for to Him alone belongs the quality of fatherhood. And he could wish, he added, that there were a title "Your Charity," for such a title best described the relations which he should have toward his fellows.[1]

Simple in his life, he used the income which came to him as a royal preacher for the purpose of alms, bestowing it on a convent of nuns which he had founded at Talavera. Simple in his faith, he took the command of Our Lady as literally, and obeyed it as scrupulously, as the Apostles took and obeyed the first call of their Master. Simple in his opinions, he would have understood little of casuistry: his ideas of right and wrong were clear-cut and his condemnations were outspoken. His views on secular fiction, which he would have termed immoral literature, are typical of his character. "Burned would I see all evil books," he cries fiercely, "till not one should remain in Christendom."[2] "Tell me, Christian, what seekest thou when thou readest books of falsehoods, save to learn to utter falsehoods?"[3] If the offender is a woman, the sin shocks him the more. "A worldly book does more harm to a Christian woman than if she consorted with . . . a lost man."[4] Yet there is many a woman who "has always time, at any hour of the day or night, to take up a worldly book, and treat and consort with it, learning therein how to sin."[5]

II

The *Garden of Prayer* and the *Mount of Contemplation* (1544), firstfruits of Alonso de Orozco's literary labours, are complementary works, which have generally been published together, and properly so, since their titles have primary reference to Gethsemane and Calvary. The former, a treatise on prayer of twenty-one chapters, need not long detain us. It is a thoroughly efficient

[1] *Revista Agustiniana*, I, p. 89.
[2] *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 504–5.
[3] *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 293.
[4] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 294.
[5] *Ibid.*

devotional guide, well planned and well arranged, depending for the most part on the Bible and the Fathers, and giving no hint that its author had read any contemporary mystical writers. The first division defines prayer, accounts for its difficulty, and enumerates its achievements in the domain of character. The second division deals at some length with methods of prayer and circumstances favourable to devotion. The third division describes the achievements of prayer in obtaining an answer to petitions, the example of St. Monica occupying an entire chapter. Nothing is laid down on contemplation, save that a general indication is given of its nature.

The *Mount of Contemplation*, on the other hand, is, as its sub-title implies,[1] definitely mystical. Written in the form of a dialogue between two characters—Agustino (the author) and Orosio—it has a real claim to the title of dialogue, and is not merely an exposition by one character with occasional ejaculations by the other. After exalting the contemplative ideal in this manner, and explaining how difficult it must always be of attainment, the author describes four stages of the journey which the would-be contemplative must make to reach the summit of the mountain—elementary stages, these, the language being based on that of Psalm xxiv:

> Know, brother, that there are four stages. The first is innocency of hands; the second, purity of heart; the third, that we receive not life in vain; the fourth, that our neighbour may in no wise receive hurt from us.[2]

After a discussion on these degrees of ascent, the author arrives at the more important "four steps of contemplation," which are figured as leading to a garden on the summit. Preceded and accompanied by holy reading, continual meditation and fervent

[1] Monte de contemplación, en el cual se ponen cuatro jornadas para subir al Monte del Señor: y al fin se tratan cuatro grados de contemplación, con una figura que los suma todos.

[2] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 113. *Cf.* Ps. xxiii, 4 (Vulgate): "Innocens manibus et mundo corde, qui non accepit in vano animam suam, nec juravit in dolo proximo suo."

prayer, " to the which contemplation is closely allied," [1] these four stages will lead, in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, to a " clear and free knowledge of Supreme Truth, which is God." [2]

The development of this theme is not distinguished either for the form of its presentation or for its originality. Nowhere, indeed, in this book, is there much originality ; none of the authors cited in it are even approximately contemporary, and few are as late in time as the Middle Ages. The first stage is represented by the contemplation of oneself—the human body, the senses and the soul ; the second, by that of the creatures ; the third, by the Passion of Christ ; and the fourth, by " this King of Glory, Very God, in Himself " [3]—the Trinity and the Unity, the Divine perfections and the Nature of each of the three Divine Persons. Orosio shows a becoming fear before the highest stage is described to him, " so great is the peril of this height of contemplation," [4] but Agustino reassures him (" If thou hast humility, thou needest not to fear " [5]) while agreeing that " this manner of contemplation is for the few and requires great perfection." " I believe," he adds, " that if thou practise these things with humility, persevering in these four grades above mentioned, the Lord will give thee experiences peculiar to thyself, from His own hand." [6]

It is fairly evident from this summary, and completely so from the dialogue, that the word " contemplation " is used by Orozco here in what he calls the " active " sense, which varies between the Lullian and the Ignatian,[7] and not in a mystical sense at all. But we are now given " a figure, which sums up these grades of contemplation," [8] and, further, pictures the life of infused contemplation, which is that of mystical theology. Orozco first expounds the text from the *Song of Songs* : " I sleep, but my heart waketh " (Cant. v, 2) :

[1] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 138. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 156. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 159. [6] *Ibid.*
[7] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 17–19, and my *Ramon Lull, a Biography* (London, 1929), p. 62.
[8] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 160.

" I sleep as to the senses, and as to the active life, and my soul keeps watch in the contemplative life." In this sleep, brother, a soul can soar so high that it may see God in His Essence. . . . This is called rapture, whither the soul is borne by Divine virtue and enabled to attain to great knowledge, to the which a man cannot attain by the use of the senses only.[1]

The " figure " which is applied to infused contemplation is the swooning of Esther in the presence of Ahasuerus.[2] " When the soul contemplates the attributes of God's greatness, it marvels, and falls as it were in a swoon, even as did this queen Esther, being received in a dream of peace, whereof the bride in the *Song of Songs* said : ' I sleep, and my heart waketh.' " [3]

In this infused contemplation there are " five grades among many others " : these appear, however, to be attributes of it which may exist together, rather than progressive stages. All of them are claimed as being Biblical. The first is " the soul's becoming one spirit with God, whereof St. John says : ' He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him,' and St. Paul affirms likewise, saying that he who draws nigh to (*se llega a*) God—that is, by contemplation—is made one spirit with Him." The second grade is " inseparability," [4] when " neither tribulations nor persecutions nor sickness nor death can withdraw the soul from the contemplation and love of its God." The third is reached " when the soul in its contemplation is wounded by Divine love, . . . with a wound, not of death, but of life." [5] The fourth is that of the soul's sickness for the love of God, when it can be comforted but with the flowers [A.V., flagons] and apples of the *Song of Songs* [6] and thirsts for living water. The fifth is clearly the highest of all : in it " the soul is alienated from itself entirely by reason of its great love for its Beloved, Jesus Christ. . . . This is a very sweet and holy death, which follows the wound and the sickness

[1] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 161.
[2] Esther xv, 10 (Vulgate).
[3] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 161.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 162.
[6] Cant. v, 8 ; ii, 5 (A.V.).

aforementioned." [1] "It is born of one word which, says Jeremiah, the Lord speaks to the heart enkindled as fire, so that bodily strength can in no wise bear it." [2] It is also represented as a burning in the furnace, but much less clearly than in the writings of other mystics :

> God himself is likewise called fire, for in contemplation He gives light to the soul, revealing to it great secrets : He turns it into ashes, giving it the true knowledge of humility : He strengthens the heart, driving all weakness from it, and all fear.[3]

Even as Ahasuerus said to Esther : "Fear not, I am thy brother," so Christ, seeing the soul in contemplation, comforts it with loving words which bring it marvellous sweetness.[4]

Orosio, at this point, thinks it very strange that Esther, being of the King's intimate household (*muy de casa*) should have had such fear of his presence. What does this signify in the allegory ?

It signifies, says Agustino, that the soul in contemplation, though the "spouse of the King of Glory," wonders increasingly day by day, since day by day it learns more of God. And there must necessarily come times when this wonder overwhelms it—when, from very inability to speak, it is silent. "I strongly suspect," he adds, "that the Lord does not communicate much to us because we immediately cry it about (*damos pregón*)." [5]

Orosio enquires, again, how it is that, if this "sleep of contemplation" is pleasing to God, He ever awakens the soul again, as Agustino has said that He does. The question leads to a discussion on the duration of this highest state. God indeed watches over the soul that sleeps in this way, even as Christ watched over Mary and defended her from the importunity of Martha. But, after all, we are still living on earth, "and the contemplative life cannot continue for long until it be perfected in Heaven." [6] We are greatly favoured by

[1] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 162.
[2] *Ibid.* *Cf.* Jeremiah xx, 9.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 163.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

God if we are allowed, in the words of St. Augustine and others, " some spark from that great fire of love," which " is kindled, according to Isaiah, in the heavenly Jerusalem," " one drop from that great ocean of heavenly contemplation while still we are imprisoned in this mortal body." We must return to the active life as duty bids us, but, as Esther slept again in Ahasuerus' arms, so " we must pass as quickly as may be from the active life to the contemplative " and " all our rest must be to repose in the arms of Jesus Christ." The two hands of the beloved, which support and embrace the bride, are the active and the contemplative lives. " The left hand is the active life . . . and, since it is the hand of Christ our Spouse, this life must be lived in patience, for we have the sure hope that He will embrace us with His right hand, which is perfect contemplation." With an admonition to Orosius that he should " go in peace and never fail to walk in this garden of prayer and mount of contemplation," the book ends.[1]

III

Orozco's second mystical work was in all probability the *Memorial of Holy Love*, a book of which the original date is not known, but which appeared in the collected edition of 1554 and may well have been published independently at an earlier time. A hortatory work, of about the same length as the *Garden* and the *Mount* combined, it aims at " awakening the memory of the holy love of God " [2] and deals with the contemplative life, but principally with its lower stages. After some considerations upon love in general, and upon the love of God to man, the author sets out seven meditations on the names of Christ—Judge, Physician, Ransomer, Shepherd, King,[3] Spouse and Father—one for each day of the week, from Monday to Sunday in turn, together

[1] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 164.

[2] Prologue.

[3] Here comes a long series of meditations on the Passion (chap. 14, *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 221–55), followed by a *résumé* of it (chap. 15), to be used in case the long series should be too long (pp. 255–60).

with a similar and more compact scheme, a part of which is to be practised seven times daily.[1] Thence he passes to write of contemplation. It is unnecessary to quote from the passage in which he contrasts the active life and the contemplative,[2] but his threefold division of the contemplative life calls for some short comment.

The first state to which he alludes is apparently only a "feeling," a "dilatation" of the soul, which "seems to be the work of God's hand and not our own." "The soul feels a lightness (*ligereza*) and a breadth (*anchura*) of the heart in all the works of God and in the active life."[3] The second is

> a rising of the soul to the consideration of the great things of God, and of His creatures. Here the soul sees itself well, because it rises not at this time out of itself, though it knows well that it is exalted after a Divine manner and enlightened with sweetest rays from that sovereign light, seeing that it still has the use of its senses which it had aforetime.[4]

From this state we ascend, without passing through any intermediary stage, to that of ecstasy.

> There is another and a final manner of contemplation, the which is more perfect, and is called rapture or ecstasy of the senses. After this manner, as our father St. Augustine affirms, can be seen the Divine Essence.[5]

"All this, soul," continues Orozco, "I have said to console thee, knowing that all thy life, if thou wilt, thou canst live in continual contemplation, for although in the two last manners the active life cannot be led together with the contemplative, it is very possible in the first manner to have ever with thee thy Redeemer and Lord, Who became man, so that in all thy business thou set Him before thine eyes."[6]

Orozco then attempts a synthesis of the active and the contemplative life, two states which "our lukewarmness has separated and divided,"[7] the hands and

[1] Chaps. 20–1. [2] Chap. 22. *Cf.* chap. 6 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 187).
[3] Chap. 23 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 293). [4] *Ibid.* (p. 294).
[5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.* (p. 295).

wings respectively with which were furnished the beasts in the first chapter of Ezekiel.

> The hand, which is the active life, worked, as did the wing, which is the contemplative, and the wing flew together with the hand. So must thou understand that if thou set thy hand—that is, thy work—to the active life, God will give thee wings—yea, the wings of an eagle—that, both working together, thou mayest contemplate thy sweetest Redeemer, Jesus Christ.[1]

This tri-partition of the contemplative life would hardly have been considered by its author as complete. The first two states are manifestly illuminative ; the third bears none of that close relation to either of them which they bear to each other. As if to emphasize its incompleteness, Orozco passes on immediately to present an alternative tri-partition, based on the traditional threefold Way. He takes as his authority the pseudo-Dionysius, who describes the " operations of the celestial spirits " as being those of " purging, illumining and perfecting." " These three effects," he adds, " we behold daily ; for when the sun rises, it first purges the air, driving away the darkness, then illumines it, and finally, as it mounts higher, perfects it by giving it brighter light." [2]

" Here, soul," he continues, " thou seest the ladder of all thy perfection, which is composed of three steps or ways :

> The purgative way is to weep and wail for thy sins first of all. The illuminative way is the enlightenment of the soul by the mercy of God. . . . The unitive way is the highest, and most perfect, since it makes the soul one in holy love with this benign Redeemer.[3]

This is unexceptionable, but when he now comes to apply the threefold division to the spiritual exercises which he has set out in this same book, we find that he is interpreting it in a purely ascetic way—something after the manner of García de Cisneros, but with more

[1] Chap. 23 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 295).
[2] Chap. 24 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 296).
[3] *Ibid.* (p. 297).

artifice and less skill. To the first Way, the Purgative, "belongs the exercise which we have laid down for each day of the week." To the Illuminative Way "we shall be able to relate the second exercise which we have given, so that, seven times daily, according to the seven canonical hours, the soul may have our Lord Jesus Christ in its presence." [1]

As to the third Way, which is unitive, we have now to give another and a more perfect method (*arte*), whereto it is fitting that the soul should fly with the greater swiftness so as to be the more nearly one with Christ its Spouse in continual remembrance of the love of this our best Beloved.[2]

The "unitive" exercise referred to is a series of eight chapters [3] on the Cross of Christ for meditation, "a meditation which many spiritual persons have practised, finding in it great utility for their souls." [4] It is, he adds, "not an invention of my poor understanding." It must be in the exercitant's memory continually, "so that thou mayest neither think nor speak of aught, nor perform aught, without first presenting thyself before thy Beloved, Christ crucified, present in thy heart." [5] So Orozco goes on, giving various kinds of information about this exercise, but omitting to explain in what sense it, rather than any other, is "unitive" at all. The union is that which is mirrored in the desire of the aspirant. "When shall I enclose Thee within my breast (lit., *entrañas*)," is its keynote, "in the perfect possession of love? When, finally, forgetful of myself, and of all created things, shall I attain to a continual and perfect memory of Thee?" [6] Its most typical chapter [7] is that which figures Jacob's ladder, which is likened to "the holy Cross planted within thy heart" and has "four rungs, whereby thou must rise from earth to Heaven." [8] The "rungs" are reading, meditation, prayer and contemplation, and the description

[1] Chap. 24 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 297).
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Chaps. 25–32.
[4] Chap. 25 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 297).
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Chap. 26 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 305).
[7] Chap. 27.
[8] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 307.

takes us no farther along the Mystic Way. Contemplation, the highest stage, is

> a sweetness (*dulzura*) of God, wherein the soul that is raised above itself has fruition, knowing that temporal things suffice not for it and are of no worth. At other times it is a rapture, whereby the soul leaves its senses, to taste God alone within itself, having naught to do with created things, but being transformed through love in that fire of infinite charity which is our God. These raptures, soul, thou must not desire presumptuously, for they are not always safe. . . . Fear lest what thou callest revelations may be visions from Satan.[1]

It is all vague and distant. Nowhere in this book, nor in the summary of its argument in dialogue form which concludes it, does Orozco give any full or detailed account of the Mystic Way, and least of all of its third and highest stage, to which he merely points the reader, presenting it with the attractiveness of the indistinct and veiled outline rather than with that of the clearly apprehended or personally known reality.

IV

With the *History of the Queen of Sheba* (1565),[2] we approach Orozco's old age, though its finest passages show no sign of senility and its defects are equally noticeable in his earlier writings. Its title describes it as showing "how every Christian should serve and adore the King of Kings, Jesus Christ our Lord," and it is true enough to this intention, but somewhat disappointing to a reader familiar with the metaphorical use of the Biblical story made by other writers in the interests of mysticism. Dedicated to Philip II's third wife, Isabel of Valois, and pausing frequently to offer counsel to "kings and great persons," it is addressed throughout to actives and to no one person (or so it appears) in particular. After narrating the story of the Queen of Sheba, and driving home the fact that God was Solomon's master, Orozco arrives at the climax of

[1] Chap. 27 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 308).

[2] *Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 276–390.

his argument, which is that God has two ways of drawing souls to Himself—one is by sending them trials and sorrow, the other by favours (*regalos*, *dulzuras y sentimientos de sí mismo*) not specified in detail, which He alone can give and which are more desirable than any worldly pleasures.

Followed, like the *Memorial of Holy Love*, by a dialogue-summary (which is called the "Brief Art of serving God"), the *History of the Queen of Sheba* has to its credit the methodical nature of its exposition, but has also the defect of an artificiality which is partly accounted for by a slavish devotion to method. The most characteristic quality of its content is its attitude to the mystical life. Contemplation, in the mystical sense, when mentioned at all, is referred to as something beyond the reach of readers of the book and not directly affecting them. To love God "without rule and measure, giving rein to the will so that it may post after God with all its strength" is only possible in its perfection "to spiritual men, who cease from other occupations and give themselves to contemplation and prayer." [1] Or again, "it is a great thing that the soul which has scaled the heights of contemplation, being still in mortal flesh, may be caught up so as to behold God in His Essence, without use of the senses." [2] But, "although this be so," continues Orozco, "let each one take with prudence and discretion that which is sufficient for him. Let him not exceed his state and his strength; let him not desire raptures and new visions . . . and let him covet no more feelings than those which God is pleased to grant him." [3]

So obviously apt a parable of the mystical life is the story of the Queen of Sheba that we should expect to find Orozco applying it here if he had it in mind to do so at all. He carries the allegory some distance, it is true, bringing the Queen, impelled by faith, hope and love, out of the kingdom of sin, setting her on the Purgative Way, in which, on her journey toward the Jerusalem of her desire, she has, on three successive

[1] *Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 304–5. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 350. [3] *Ibid.*

days, to conquer the three enemies of luxury, avarice and pride. Arrived at the royal court, she prepares to enter the king's presence, having acquired, during this period of Illumination, many treasures and much wealth—*i.e.* virtues and habits of devotion. But, having brought her to the threshold of the presence-chamber, so to speak, he may be said almost to leave her there. The remaining chapters, where they speak of the Unitive Life, or of any advanced stage of contemplation, at all, do so in such ill-defined language as that which we have already quoted. None of the characteristic marks of mystical prayer is described otherwise than vaguely.

Much is said, for example, of "the soul that speaks with God," [1] "the soul approaching God" [2] and "the soul made one spirit with God," [3] of spiritual sweetness, favours and "the silence in which the soul speaks with God." [4] But what these experiences are, or how they are attainable, is scarcely ever so much as hinted at. The best that can be said for the treatise, from the mystical point of view, is that "the soul knows much more in contemplation and prayer when it presents itself before God than either reading, or those who speak of Divine things, can explain to it." [5] Once more, Orozco has written a book in which he holds up the mystical ideal without showing the way to it; all he can be said to do in relation to that ideal is to spur onward the soul whom the example of the "Queen of the South" inspires.

V

Eleven years after the *History of the Queen of Sheba*, Orozco published an interesting treatise entitled *The Sweetness of God*,[6] which makes no attempt, as did the

[1] *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 340. [2] *Ibid.* p. 368. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 340. [5] *Ibid.* p. 351.

[6] A casual inspection of this book (*De la Suavidad de Dios*) and of its Latin version (*De Suavitate Dei*) might incline one to translate the title as "gentleness" rather than as "sweetness." But throughout the leading idea is that of God's "goodness," in the sense of Ps. xxxi, 19 (*cf.* note 1, p. 210), and of Ps. xxxiv, 8; and the words "dulcedumbre y suavidad" (Prólogo: *cf.* the Latin "dulcedinem atque suavitatem" in the same passage) are frequently used together.

two works described in the preceding sections, to cover a large tract of the contemplative life, but confines itself, with greater success, to a restricted area. Based upon the verse of the psalm "Oh how great is Thy goodness, which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee!"[1] it is written for the purpose of consoling the many who cannot "feel in prayer, contemplation and the use of the sacraments the sweetness and favour which the Lord is wont to give when He pleases." The plan of this book is rather less clear than those of Orozco usually are: perhaps old age is creeping upon him at last. In general terms, the progression of thought may be stated thus. The ways in which sweetness is to be found in God's nature, in His ordinances and commandments, in the virtues, the sacraments, the love of one's neighbour and pious exercises are detailed in turn, leading naturally to the question why in such things the Christian fails to find sweetness. The reasons are mainly the mortal sin of pride and various venial sins. Christians who are "perfect" ask God for trials, in which there is always sweetness if we look at Christ crucified, and indeed this is necessary if we are to find sweetness in anything. Some considerations on this matter follow, including the particular obligation of the religious to taste God's sweetness, and finally instructions are given as to remedies for aridity, and for perseverance in prayer in spite of it.

The Beatus is attacking here a problem of first-rate importance in the devotional life, and one to which nearly all the mystics have devoted some consideration. It is manifestly fundamental to any discussion of the higher states of prayer, since it touches a question essential to the discipline of contemplation. His most important line of argument is directed against contemplatives who expect sweetness too easily:

> Some there are who, so soon as they draw near to God, would wish to experience His sweetness and favour; and who, if they feel it not, cease from prayer. These are they who would fain

[1] Ps. xxxi, 19 (Vulgate, Ps. xxx, 20: "Quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tuae, Domine, quam abscondisti timentibus te!").

feel the warmth of the fire before the wood be kindled ; but they are wrong. For he that suffers not a little smoke at the beginning shall not have his pleasure of the flame. . . .

For a business that is so great, rest thou thy imagination and keep silence as to all other matters, and consider that, in order to raise thy soul to God, thou must endure much labour, more especially at the beginning of thy prayer. And be thou advised that it is not alone for the sweetness that God communicates to His children that thou givest thyself to prayer, but in order to give thanks to God Himself and for His greater glory. . . .

As to favour, let none think that he merits it, but rather that, if God gives it, He does so of His great liberality and goodness. Whence it comes that the perfect lover of God scarce remembers, when he prays, this sweetness wherein beginners so greatly delight, but to such a point submits His will to the will of God that he gives thanks to the Lord as gratefully for aridity as for sweetness.[1]

It is not surprising if in this book we find more sidelights on mental prayer and can extend our knowledge of Orozco's outlook on the mystical life as a whole.

We find him, for instance, making a distinction between " imaginative " contemplation and " intellectual," two kinds of " contemplation "—or more strictly, as Orozco also terms them here, of meditation—which we have termed above Ignatian and Lullian respectively.

To the first pertains that of the mysteries of our redemption. Thus we imagine the child Jesus, the Eternal God, born of the sacred Virgin, His Mother, laid in a manger in that stable of Bethlehem. This meditation belongs to the imagination, and we shall say the same of His most holy life and passion. When we send forth the imagination, we seem to be travelling the whole way with Him. It would not be difficult to imagine that Bethlehem or Jerusalem is within our heart, and that His glorious Nativity was there, and His sacred passion, and that it was there that He went through all the mysteries that He suffered to redeem us. . . .

The second way of meditation is called intellectual, for it belongs to the understanding, and this we practise when we consider the majesty of our Creator, His infinite power and marvellous goodness, and finally when we treat of any of God's perfections.[2]

[1] *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 503. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 501–2.

The chapter which follows this deals with mental prayer in the lower sense (*i.e.*, all non-vocal prayer), showing its value to the devotional life, and, in particular, commending the use of ejaculatory prayer.[1] This leads to the setting of ideals of devotion : the likening of the contemplative to an eagle, the exhortation to him to " climb to the top of the ladder," [2] to find rest " in his centre, which is God." [3] Here Orozco becomes eloquent :

> This our Beauty is eternal : never will He fail : love thou Him then with all thy heart. For He has loved thee dearly, and has granted thee such manifold favours. Rest thou in His arms. Ah, what sweetness, and what delight shalt thou know when once thou art in those arms of His ! There shalt thou forget the world . . . there taste the sweetness of the Lord. And there, at last, joined in union of spirit with the Omnipotent, shalt thou become so strong as in no wise to fear thine enemies.[4]

That the understanding should cease to act is not here in Orozco's thought at all. It must both " contemplate God's excellences " and also " draw the will with it so that the will may love that which is comprehended by the understanding." [5] It must " serve the will by illumining it and teaching it that eternal truth which is our God," so that the will may come to " love that Supreme Good which is God." Yet the " knowledge " required for contemplation is " simple," consisting " in affections rather than in science or fine understanding," for which reason savants are often less proficient in it than " devout persons without letters." The savants are " like stags which run over the mountains " : the simple are " hedgehogs which are content to rest in hollow stones." [6] The conclusion of the whole matter, according to Orozco, seems to be this :

> A fountain that issues from two jets divides the force of its current into two parts, and, when one of the jets is closed, the water pours forth with greater violence. Two important faculties of our soul are the understanding and the will, and we must

[1] *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 504–6. [2] *Ibid.* p. 506. [3] *Ibid.* p. 508.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* p. 507. [6] *Ibid.* p. 508.

needs go gently with the understanding if the whole force of the soul is to be set in the will, that it may love God, in Whom the understanding finds pleasure and the will even more.[1]

At the end of this book, which, late as it is, will be the most satisfying to the student of mysticism of all that Orozco wrote, he brings his ideals to a climax by rising to the theme of perfection in contemplation. Once more he quotes St. Thomas' assurance that "a soul while still in this mortal flesh may see the Divine Essence fleetingly, being so wholly rapt in God that it no longer has the use of its senses."[2] This, it is true, is rare: neither Jacob nor the Apostles at the Transfiguration saw God's Essence, and St. Paul, who had mystical experiences, continually reminds us that only in Heaven can we see God except by faith. "The perfection of our contemplation and knowledge," says Orozco, "will be when we see the face of God—that is, when we see His Essence."[3] Nevertheless, the impression which he leaves, in this as in his other books, is that the loftiest experiences of contemplation are beyond our reach, and that, though we may sigh for them if we will, we had best leave alone any thought of ever attaining to them.

VI

It is impossible to form a just estimate of Orozco's genius without reviewing, however briefly, some of the minor works which he produced in such abundance. His numerous collections of sermons, though yielding none of the mystical wealth which we find in the sermons of his great predecessor, St. Thomas of Villanueva, were not the less popular when delivered, and from the homiletic standpoint cannot be entirely passed over. They are classified, almost without exception, according to the divisions of the ecclesiastical year for which they were composed, but include one volume devoted entirely to sermons in honour of Our Lady,[4] who appeared to

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 509.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Bibl.*, No. 1407.

him three times in visions ("not . . . in dreams, but when I was awake and keeping vigil")[1] and is represented in his writings by other independent treatises. One of these, referred to above, expounds the "seven words of Saint Mary" (*Siete palabras de la Virgen:* also called *Tratado de las siete palabras que María Santísima habló*),[2] while another (*Tratado de la Corona de Nuestra Señora*)[3] describes twelve stars resplendent in the Virgin's crown, of which the twelfth is contemplation.

A study of the Latin commentary on the *Song of Songs*,[4] with its "forty-four annotations" for festivals of Our Lady, will add little of value, if anything, to the material we have already collected from Orozco's writings. Once again, the contrast with St. Thomas of Villanueva is inevitable. Conscientious but uninspired, Orozco's commentary has a good deal in it of Biblical exposition and plenty of idealism, but its references to mysticism are mainly brief and allusive. "Possunt et haec omnia," says the prologue, "quae in hoc carmine nuptiali scribuntur, cuilibet animae sanctae adaptari." The references to the lives of Martha and Mary,[5] raptures and other favours,[6] the sweetness (*suavitas*) to be found in contemplation,[7] the glimpses which God reveals of Himself[8] are all of a general character. The book depends very much less on authorities than might be expected, quoting less than a dozen and throwing off their weight gradually as the exposition progresses, but it never approaches complete freedom from them. It was considered by Juan de los Ángeles of sufficient importance to be used by him in his own exposition of the same book—though, for that matter, there are few such commentaries which that writer seems not to have pillaged.

Of Orozco's miscellaneous works, the Spanish *Chronicle of St. Augustine*, which contains also some

[1] *Confesiones*, bk. iii, chap. 9.
[2] Bibl., No. 1431.
[3] Bibl., No. 1440.
[4] *Commentaria quaedam in Cantica Canticorum*, etc., Burgos, 1581 (Bibl., No. 1390).
[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 71, 339, 346.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 63.
[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 110, 150.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

Augustinian biographies and notes on the history of the Spanish province, has already been referred to [1]; together with it may be classed the "Lives" of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Divine. Another type of treatise is represented by the early *Rule of Christian living* (*Regla de vida cristiana*), which Orozco wrote for the instruction of his sister, and the *Brief Art of Serving God*, mentioned above.[2] A *Catechism*, which explains how "our Christian religion is the true one and all other sects are deceits of the devil," gives instructions of the usual type on Creed, Commandments, Sacraments, Paternoster and Christian living, and has chapters on dealing with converts from Islam. A treatise on "Christian gratitude" (*De la gratitud cristiana*) is of an extremely general nature and provides a series of meditations, or soliloquies, on the Passion, similar to those of the *Memorial of Holy Love*.

Frankly ascetic, in spite of its title, the *Spiritual Betrothal* (*Desposorio Espiritual*) is intended for religious, and in particular for a nun who is the author's sister. It deals with the religious life and its three vows and has no direct reference to the Mystic Way. The *Victory over Death* (*Victoria de la Muerte*) recalls the *Agony of the Passage of Death* (1537) of Alejo de Venegas.[3] Sober, clear and unrhetorical, with little of the realism of García de Cisneros on the same subject, it rises to a climax of eloquence only in its final chapters. Its title suggests another comparison—with Orozco's *Victory over the World*, a treatise which describes the attitude of the Christian towards the world which Christ overcame, and encourages him to rise above the deceptions of that "enchanting gipsy." [4] Among other works of this kind, only one, on confession (*Sacramento de la Penitencia*) need be mentioned, for its comprehensive counsels addressed to kings, "illustrious lords," prelates, clergy, religious, lawyers, merchants, money-changers and doctors.

[1] P. 195, above. [2] P. 208, above. [3] *Survey*, p. 11.
[4] "Gitano encantador" (*Epistolario*, III). The reference is to this book, which is recommended for reading.

It was not until the age of eighty that Orozco, imitating his father St. Augustine, began his *Confessions*, from which we have already quoted with some frequency. The prologue of one of its various editors explains that, as he really had hardly any sins to confess, the book is mainly devoted to thanksgiving.[1] There is a good deal of truth in this description of it. Orozco tells of a thirty years' spiritual struggle, but adds that more than twenty years have passed since it ended. For one who believed himself to have been singled out by God for so many supernatural favours as he enumerates, humility must have been difficult : the favours begin with a Divine vision granted to his mother before his birth, and end almost with the day of his death, for he continues his memoirs as far as January 1591.

Such is a brief representative selection from Orozco's works, which reveals him as an assiduous, determined writer, of ample erudition but with no great flexibility of genius. Some reference should be made to an opuscule which has brought its author into comparison with Luis de León—the *Nine Names of Christ*.[2] We need not here retrace the arguments of PP. Muiños Sáenz, Gregorio de Santiago Vela and others, as to the relations between this work and Luis de León's *Names of Christ*, which is much the longer and fuller of the two. All the " nine names " of Orozco occur in Luis de León's book, and, while the opinion more generally current is that Orozco served as a source for León,[3] it is difficult to rebut the alternative theory, that the *Nine Names* is in substance an extract from the first edition of the *Names of Christ*.[4] The original of Orozco's opuscule can give little help to the literary investigator, for, though its authenticity is established, it has no

[1] Ed. Madrid, 1730 (Bibl., No. 1402).

[2] Cf. *Survey*, pp. 12–13 ; *S.S.M.*, I, p. 300.

[3] The conclusions of P. Muiños Sáenz in this sense are quoted in *Survey*, p. 13 *n.*

[4] P. Santiago Vela (*op. cit.*, Bibl., No. 1491, vol. vi, pp. 150–6) does not take either side, but points out that P. Muiños Sáenz's very guarded conclusions have been taken too generally for granted and even made more definite than their author ever intended.

details or suggestions of date which might be decisive. The attempts which have been made to identify the characters in the dialogues of Orozco and León are of necessity less fruitful still, for here we are in the realm of pure conjecture. Tempting as it is to imagine, for example, that Orozco is Luis de León's Juliano, and that both authors are reporting conversations in which they played a part, we must confine ourselves perforce to imaginings, and not, until more evidence be available, attempt proofs.

A small collection of Orozco's letters, written "to men of all conditions" (*Epistolario cristiano para todos estados*) was published in 1567. The first letter—there are twelve in all—is addressed to Prince Charles of Castile, but none of the remainder bears the name of any particular person. And not only the titles ("For a priest," "For a widow," "For a sick man," etc.) but also the content of the letters, and their arrangement, suggest that they are either letters only in name, or are compilations, each of which incorporates a number written on a single subject. They are very long, sermon-like, completely free from personal allusions, full of quotations, and carefully arranged, with their chief points summarized at the conclusion of each letter. Stylistically, their principal characteristic is a greater exuberance of metaphor than we find in Orozco's other writings. Most of the figures used are those common in books of this kind, and are handled with no great distinction: they lighten the style, however, and are occasionally in themselves of merit. In southern Spain, if not elsewhere, for instance, the concise little parable of the palm and the almond tree would be long remembered:

> Note that the palm, which has to live many years, flowers late and bears its dates late. But there are some who would flower as the almond-tree: they make great haste, take little rest, and desire in an hour to be perfect.

The difficulty of characterizing Orozco briefly as a writer is considerable, and arises chiefly from the long period of maturity and extreme old age, over which his

work was produced, and its consequent inequality. His dialogues at their best are full of life and vigour ; some of the passages of the *Mount of Contemplation* would do credit to Bunyan, whom, indeed, they suggest. Again, his books are as a rule well planned and constructed, and, though he often repeats himself, his frequent *résumés* of his arguments, together with the straightforward progression of his thought, make him easy to follow. More markedly than most of the writers whom we are studying, he uses the Bible as a source in contra-distinction to the Fathers, classical authors and mediaeval mystics, on whom he draws but little. Exceptions can be found to all these statements, but they are generally attributable to senility. One can hardly expect consistency in style from a man who collected his sermons in the seventies, wrote something like seven original treatises in the eighties, and completed his autobiography when not far short of ninety-one.

CHAPTER VIII

FRANCISCAN MYSTICISM: DIEGO DE ESTELLA

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I

The striking revival of interest in Fray Diego de Estella which manifested itself in Spain about the time of the quatercentenary of his birth, in 1924, found expression, not only in the popular devotion and enthusiasm of his Navarran compatriots, but also among the more erudite of those who study Spanish mysticism, Navarrans and Franciscans alike. As one result of the labours of these scholars, it is possible to give a more exact account of his life and writings than it would have been as recently as eight or ten years ago.

The family name of Diego de Estella was Diego de San Cristóbal,[1] the name by which he is now known [2] coming from his birthplace, the little town of Estella, rather less than thirty miles south-west of Pamplona, where he saw the light in the year 1524.[3] He is said to have been sent by his father, Diego de San Cristóbal Ballesteros y Eguía, a man of good birth and a relative of St. Francis Javier, to the French University of Toulouse. Thence, runs the belief, he returned to Spain on account of the Franco-Spanish wars, and entered the University of Salamanca. But we hear nothing definite of him until after he has taken the habit in the Franciscan convent of Salamanca, when a document bearing the date 1550 describes him as a friar minor. If he professed in Salamanca, as is certain, it is at least likely that he also studied there, either at the University or in his convent.

[1] See the following articles in *Fray Diego de Estella y su IV centenario* (Bibl., No. 1659): Pedro Emiliano Zorrilla: "La Casa de Fray Diego de Estella" (pp. 5–13); Jaime Eguarás: "Genealogía de Fray Diego de Estella" (pp. 17–50). Also Zalba (Bibl., No. 1666), pp. 3–5.

[2] In the first of his works (1554) he uses the name Estella; he occasionally employs his patronymic also (see Bibl., No. 1518), but the shorter name seems to have attracted him more.

[3] Zalba, pp. 5–9.

In or about the year 1552, Fray Diego accompanied Philip II's favourite, Ruy Gómez de Silva, on a journey to Lisbon, in which city he remained for some time, writing [1] and publishing there in 1554 his first book, a *Life of Saint John the Evangelist*, composed "in a short time and amid many other occupations" [2] and dedicated to the Queen of Portugal. It is not known with any certainty what Fray Diego did in Lisbon, nor in what year he returned thence to Spain; but, as his *Book of the Vanity of the World* was approved at Toledo in January 1561, and published in the same city in the year following, he was evidently not in Portugal later than the end of 1560.

Our next glimpse of Estella is in 1570, when he styles himself (in a later edition of his second book) "Court Preacher." The *Book of the Vanity of the World*, if perhaps it had taken some little time to become known, was by now a great success. So much may be inferred from the fact that, while only one fresh edition of it (so far as has been discovered) appeared for eight years after its first publication, there were three more editions between 1570 and 1572, at about which time its author began a serious revision of it. A new and enlarged version, in three parts, containing three hundred chapters in place of one hundred and twenty, came out at Salamanca in 1574, and had a long and distinguished history. Eight Spanish editions were now published in ten years, together with a French translation and no less than six translations into Italian during the same period. From that time onward the vogue of the book was assured, and (as our Bibliography will show) translations and adaptations of various kinds continued to be made: in all, since its first appearance down to the present, the book has been turned into ten languages.

During some years, Estella lived in Madrid,[3] where

[1] *Cf.* ed. Lisbon, 1554 (Bibl., No. 1516), fol. 122v.: "En esta ciudad de Lisboa, que es buena tierra y templada, no es mucho tener naranjas." *Cf.* Zalba, pp. 17–18.

[2] "Al Lector."

[3] On the lectureships which he is said to have held at Madrid and elsewhere, see Zalba, p. 19.

he wrote a part at least of his Latin *Expositions of the Gospel of Saint Luke*,[1] which he concluded and published at Salamanca in 1574–5. It is known that by this time he was again living here, at the same Convent of St. Francis where he had entered the Order ; a provincial chapter held there early in 1574 appointed him one of the official preachers of the province. There was reason in this choice, for Estella was held in high regard as an orator. On Michaelmas Day, 1573, he had preached, by the request of St. Teresa, on the occasion of the founding of the second Carmelite convent in Salamanca, and in a contemporary document is described as being " one of the most famous preachers we have here." " We knew," it continues, " that, since he was preaching, the greater part of the city would attend our solemnity." Testimony of another kind to the same fact came a few years later, when, in 1582, was published the first edition of a " table of all the things contained in " the most popular of Fray Diego's writings, so that other preachers might utilize them for their sermons.

Long before this date had appeared two other works, both in Salamanca, which set the definitive seal to Estella's reputation. One of these, the Latin *Modus concionandi et explanatio in Psalm. cxxxvi*, is, as its title implies, a treatise on preaching, the exposition of the psalm " Super flumina Babylonis," which forms part of it, being a series of six sermons delivered in Salamanca. It is a brief work of only forty chapters, describing the natural qualities of the good preacher, the composition of a sermon, its language, the mode of its delivery, the use of authorities, and so forth. In short, it is a purely technical treatise, which even to-day is considered as of great merit, and as one of the most important works on sacred oratory published during the Golden Age in Spain.

The second of these works, the *Devout Meditations on the Love of God* (1576),[3] must have been finished as early as the summer of 1574, since the royal privilege of a ten

[1] *Enarrationes in sacrosanctum evangelium secundum Lucam* (Bibl., No.1541).
[2] St. Teresa, *Obras*, Burgos, 1915–26, vol. iv, pp. 158–9.
[3] Bibl., No. 1493.

years' copyright for the author is dated August 27 of that year. Of all Estella's writings, the *Meditations* is that which we now read with the greatest pleasure. We shall shortly contrast it with the *Book of the Vanity of the World*, the success of which has been more striking; we need say no more here than that the *editio princeps* of the *Meditations* (1576) was followed immediately by three editions, all published in 1578, in cities as far apart as Salamanca, Lisbon and Barcelona.[1]

Like many other religious writers of his day, Diego de Estella led by no means a uniformly tranquil existence. He was particularly outspoken, as his writings show, in the condemnation of vice,[2] and there is evidence that, as early as 1567, he had annoyed Philip II by writing to the Pope concerning abuses in the Spanish Court.[3] It has also been said, though without sufficient foundation, that he became unpopular for having attempted to work certain reforms in his Order.[4] But the principal cause of his troubles was a bout with the Inquisition, following the publication of his expositions of St. Luke. At the end of March, 1575, appeared the first edition, duly approved by various doctors of the University of Alcalá, and licensed. In November, however, the Inquisitors of Seville seized all copies to be found in that city, and reported to the General Council of the Inquisition that parts of the book, which they embodied in thirty-eight propositions, were in their opinion censurable. While this matter was still *sub judice*, Estella endeavoured to bring it to a satisfactory termination by publishing at Alcalá in 1578 a second edition of the book, considerably modified, in accordance with the censures of the Inquisition, which must have been communicated to him by sympathizers in high places.

This edition, however, was censured also, both in fact and by implication, for the doctors of Alcalá, to

[1] Bibl., Nos. 1494–6.

[2] *Enarrationes*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1541); Salamanca, 1574–5 (the edition used throughout this chapter), I, i, fol. 43r.; I, iii, fol. 92r.; I, iv, fol. 112r.; II, xxi, fol. 228r., etc.

[3] *A.I.A.* (Bibl., No. 1658), p. 19.

[4] Julián de San Cristóbal: *Noticias*, etc., pp. xix–xx.

whom the matter had been officially referred, produced, in the summer of 1578, a list of no fewer than one hundred and sixteen passages from the first edition to which they took exception. These were nearly all short, and few of them were of fundamental importance.[1] Criticisms of bishops and clergy, theological statements needing qualification to make them correct, objections to the views of received teachers of the Church and the misuse of technical terms appear to have been the nature of most of them. Their number was perhaps more serious than their enormity, and even their number was, for those times, not unusual.

Estella's less trustworthy biographers declare that as some compensation for what he was undergoing at this time he was elected a provincial of his Order, but refused the honour, just as, according to others, he had already refused a bishopric offered him some years earlier by Philip II. Documentary evidence for all this is lacking.[2] Though the Guardian of his convent quite naturally exerted himself on his behalf during the period of trial, it is impossible to feel, especially if we compare his experiences with Luis de León's, that he was suffering what in the sixteenth century was counted an unusual indignity. Galling as it must have been to have one's book censured twice successively, the second publication, it must be allowed, was in the circumstances premature, while, as to the first edition, we have at least one very definite testimony that "the book was printed against the opinion of many learned men of the University [of Alcalá]" and that the Abbot of Alcalá "said clearly to P. Estella that it should not be printed before it had been submitted to further expurgations" than had been given to it.[3]

Perhaps the friar's apparent hastiness may be excused by the uncertain state of his health, for on August 1, 1578, shortly after the appearance of the second edition of his *Enarrationes*, he died. Aged only

[1] They are fully described in *A.I.A.*, pp. 188–209.
[2] *Fray Diego de Estella*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1659), pp. 70–1, 73–5.
[3] *A.I.A.*, pp. 32–3.

fifty-four, and having but lately written a book so full of vigour as the *Meditations on the Love of God*, he might reasonably have hoped for many years more of activity. As it was, he never saw the end of the somewhat arid dispute with the Inquisition which was taken up over his dead body by his convent. It dragged on for some years. Copies of the first edition, heavily expurgated, were released in 1580. Meanwhile, an unexpurgated and unauthorized edition, based on that of 1575, had been published at Lyons (1580), and its circulation in the north of Spain, though of course prohibited, was only partially prevented by the publication in 1582 of an expurgated edition, undertaken by the friars of Salamanca, in conjunction with Fray Diego's brother, Martín, which brought the dispute to a timely conclusion.

Because this is the only part of Estella's life on which we are well informed, we must not allow it to dwarf in our imagination the great majority of the years, of which we know nothing. There is not the least reason to think of his life as being on the whole an unhappy one. Both as a preacher and as a writer he was successful, and in the occupations of preaching and writing he must have found great solace, as we may know from the zest with which he pursued them. Very much at home in Salamanca, he seems to have been on the most intimate terms with all his fellow-Franciscans. And if, until three years before his death, his biography is all but impossible to write for lack of information, is not that but another way of saying that he belongs to the great company of religious who are happy in having no history ?

II

If the story of Diego de Estella's latest years reminds us of Luis de León, a survey of his works recalls rather Luis de Granada. Preachers, and among the foremost preachers of that sixteenth-century Spain in which both passed their lives, the Dominican and the Franciscan are never far from the pulpit in their writings.

St. François de Sales coupled their names together in recommending their books for the devout life,[1] but an earlier link was forged unconsciously by themselves, when Luis de Granada published his *Rhetoricae Ecclesiasticae sive de ratione concionandi* in the same year (1576) as the very similar *Modus concionandi* of Estella, with which it has frequently been published in one volume. Between the prose styles of the two authors there are many similarities and there is also a sharp contrast. Granada is for the most part bland and mellifluous even in his passages of the greatest force or sublimity. Estella is incisive and stern, castigating where Granada reproves, denouncing where his contemporary is content with description.

Like Luis de Granada, Diego de Estella is, in the generality of his work, an ascetic rather than a mystic, and the mystical passages in his writings, though not infrequent, are only one element in a very much larger whole. His books are not numerous, and we shall consider them in turn.

The *Life of Saint John the Evangelist*, says its title-page, " contains more than the author promises, for with the praises of Saint John are interwoven certain moral matters." This not very attractive statement is exact enough, but the most noteworthy " matter " interwoven in the book is the mystical ideal which blends very harmoniously with the Evangelist's character. " What greater honour can be given to a man," asks Estella, " what more can a man desire, than to be the well-beloved of God and His familiar friend ? " The beloved disciple was " the one chosen from all, the one most loved of all, and the one most highly honoured and favoured of all." [2] He " soared higher toward celestial things than did any. . . . So pure and free were his eyes from the dust of this world that, devoid of all earthly affection, he saw with clearest sight, comprehended and attained to mysteries which were hidden from many of the angels. No tongue can tell the purity of his soul, . . . so perfect

[1] See p. 265, n. 1, below.

[2] *Tratado de la vida, loores*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1516), fol. 6r.

and complete was this most holy apostle in despising the world and attaining in perfection to God." [1]

From depicting so ideal a character it is but a step to the consideration of the ideal character in an impersonal form :

> In order that gold may be mixed with silver, and that the two metals may be fused into one, they must be kept from dust, from wind and from every humour ; for if any one of these three things be interposed, there can be no perfection of union. Even so, if two desire union with friendship, it is necessary that they be without the wind of pride, the earthly dust of avarice or the humour of sensuality.[2]

From this picture of character, Estella passes in due course to the life of contemplation. The traditional comparison of the contemplative with the eagle is made : like the eagle, St. John flew higher than man's gaze could follow him, made his nest in the heights and beheld the sun,—*i.e.*, the secrets of God. How different is such a life from the active life ! " Actives have their conversation upon the earth, while contemplatives, seeking those things that are above and not on the earth, have their conversation in Heaven. Actives are fish that swim in the water ; contemplatives are birds that soar in the air. The former are cumbered with their work ; in the latter dwells God in quietness." [3] " The active life ends in this world ; the contemplative life continues for ever." [4]

A third and final flight of mystical ardour we may find in the latter part of this book—from our point of view its climax—when Estella speculates on the heights to which St. John, his ideal contemplative, attained. Having himself, at this stage in his life, no personal knowledge of the higher states of mental prayer, he is forced to set down his own conjectures and the views of others. After quoting Origen's belief that St. John soared to the highest point possible to a mortal and was " deified in God," [5] he repeats and adapts the mystics'

[1] *Tratado de la vida, loores*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1516), fol. 43v.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 8r. [3] *Ibid.*, fol. 92r. [4] *Ibid.*, fol. 92v.
[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 96r.

well-known language in portraying the Evangelist as experiencing the bliss of Union.

He lived in the world, yet treated with God concerning business that is above the highest heaven. All his understanding he employed in refining the Divine mysteries and penetrating the darkest secrets of the Holy Trinity, being raised in marvellous wise to a knowledge of the deep and hidden things of Heaven. As he rested in the arms of Christ, the soul of Saint John became so deeply absorbed in God that he was changed into another man, wholly transported in God and by Divine participation made God.

In such wise did he dwell in God that his soul could scarcely be recognized as his own. Who can recognize the iron that lies within the fire? A difficult task would it be to distinguish the iron from the burning coals, when it has their colour as well as their heat, is aflame and kindled, and has its form and all its accidents changed into fire. Even so was Saint John absorbed by the fire of the Divinity, so that by participation he became another God, was changed into God, converted into God and transformed into God without change of substance, even as iron, without changing its substance, which is ingenerable and incorruptible, varies its form and takes new effects and powers.[1]

This youthful work of Estella's was relatively little read: the preface to its second edition, which appeared more than forty years after the first, describes it as almost forgotten. It is not, however, devoid of interest. Besides containing a few examples of its author's early eloquence, it shows how strong upon him, from the beginning, was the influence of St. Augustine, whom he quotes more than any other writer, and above all it reveals the attraction for him of the mystical ideal.

Since Estella's works show no progression, from the mystical standpoint, according to their chronological order, it is convenient to examine here his Latin works, leaving for separate and final consideration the two books by which he is chiefly known, and which, by most authors who have written upon him, are strongly contrasted. In the *Modus Concionandi* and the sermons

[1] *Tratado de la vida, loores*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1516), fol. 147r.v.

accompanying it there is nothing whatever to detain us. We pass then to consider briefly the *Enarrationes* on St. Luke.

This work is of restricted interest to modern readers, whether regarded as mystical literature or otherwise. It makes free use of authorities, both sacred and profane, especially of St. Augustine, but includes practically no quotations from mediaeval or contemporary mystical writers.[1] Apart from such value as it has as a commentary, its principal attraction lies in the insight which it gives us into the social life of the day and the unmeasured terms in which it condemns certain vices, social abuses and heresies. We may instance its pictures of busy men who, instead of attending to the mass being sung solemnly at the high altar of their church, assist quickly at a low mass in some chapel, and then engage in conversation until the preacher is seen mounting the pulpit steps, whereupon they depart precipitately.[2] These, and others for whom an hour's sermon is too long, women addicted to sins of vanity and lust, men attracted by heresies imported from England and Germany, victims of sloth and gluttony, proud and ambitious citizens who agitate for popular suffrage, together with clerics who fail to preach the word of God, and laymen too lukewarm to make the briefest pilgrimages, he chastises unmercifully;[3] or, more correctly, he enjoins the duty of doing so on those preachers who read this commentary and utilize it in their sermons.

Most of the semi-mystical passages in the *Enarrationes* are not unnaturally found in that portion of the Gospel which describes the lives of Mary and Martha (St. Luke x, 38–42). Others occur only very occasionally. The ideas on the contemplative life which have already been set out are repeated, but the one idea which underlies them all in this treatise is that of the value in the spiritual life of quietness. Only in God

[1] *Cf.* however, for Estella's use of Orozco, *A.I.A.* (Bibl., No. 1658), pp. 145–6.

[2] *Enarrationes, ed. cit.*, vol. i, fol. 201r.

[3] E.g. *ibid.*, vol. i, fols. 12v., 16r., 100r., 168v., 218v., 219r., 221r.; vol. ii, fols. 10r., 18v., 71v., 96r., 173r.

can the soul know tranquillity.[1] Outward occupations hinder the contemplative, while quietness is essential to his progress.[2] Silence and solitude are the "walls of devotion."[3] In the passages which describe God as the true centre and aim of the soul, there are many reminiscences of St. Augustine. In God is man's satisfaction.[4] The soul is more truly where it loves than where it works.[5] Nothing can remain inactive: the river never rests but flows on ceaselessly; the moon changes continually; the fire mounts upward till it finds rest in its natural sphere. Even so must we ever progress, desisting only from our endeavours to soar upward when we find rest in our natural sphere,—namely, in Heaven.[6]

Numerous passages contrast mental with vocal prayer and the contemplative life with the active.[7] The latter is not always inferior to the former[8]; in any case, both are necessary in the Church, and each, if lived in its proper sphere, helps the other.[9] At the same time, the contemplative life is in general the higher of the two. It is gloriously indifferent to the ordinary conditions of mortal existence: prison, chains and torture, infirmity and sickness are alike incapable of checking or destroying it. Even the martyrs, in their final moments of life on earth, have been known to be rapt in contemplation.

Such, in briefest summary, are the leading ideas on contemplation suggested to Fray Diego de Estella by a study of St. Luke's Gospel. They are neither few nor negligible, and if the development of them is at times but slight, it must be remembered that they are parts in a greater whole. They are sufficient evidence of the sympathy which Estella always had with mystical ideals. In themselves they cannot be said to show more than sympathy, nor have they the brilliant imagination or the unfailing eloquence which were later to

[1] *Enarrationes, ed. cit.*, vol. ii, fol. 131r.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, fol. 28r.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, fol. 81v.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, fol. 127v.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i, fol. 16v.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. i, fol. 6v.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, fol. 31v.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. i, fol. 25v.; vol. ii, fol. 30r.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, fol. 30r.

make of a not dissimilar commentary on a portion of St. Luke one of the masterpieces of Spanish literature. But they are impregnated with the mystical spirit, and they have sufficient promise of greater things to rouse expectations as to the two chief works of Estella which are to follow.

III

The *Book of the Vanity of the World* has, from the literary standpoint at least, suffered in the past by contrast with the *Devout Meditations on the Love of God*, perhaps as much as in other respects the latter book has suffered from the overshadowing popularity of the former. Ricardo León, in the preface to his edition of the *Meditations*, has summed up the modern view of Estella's earlier book in calling it "dry and prolix" and contrasting its "bitter wisdom" with the "joyful vehemence" and "impulsive lyricism" of its successor.[1] He was perhaps unduly influenced, in writing this, by Menéndez y Pelayo's regrets that Estella should be "far better known by the dry morality of the *Book of the Vanity of the World*, a work both arid and prolix, edifying rather than literary, bristling with quotations and commonplaces which make it extremely useful for preachers, than by the *Hundred Meditations on the Love of God*."[2]

Prolixity is certainly a characteristic of the *Vanity of the World*, but also, it must be allowed, of Estella's works in general. In this book his redundancies and repetitions are meant to convey emphasis; in other books they seem to be the result of immaturity; in others, again, they are intended to aid meditation. Aridity is a more serious charge to bring against a book of which the success has been so phenomenal. Ascetic its teaching undoubtedly is, and the trenchant severity of its style accentuates the solemnity of its theme. But a

[1] *Ed. cit.* (Bibl., No. 1590), p. xi.

[2] *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. iii, Madrid, 1896, p. 136.

survey of the three hundred chapters of the book in its revised form will reveal a beauty that attracts as well as a repellent sternness. If its first edition was "a work deserving to be borne continually in the hands of all who prize the name of Christian,"[1] the new version, which we here follow, "had not only increased in quantity but in quality likewise."[2]

The first of its three parts is the least attractive. "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," is its theme. One after another of the world's pleasures is ruthlessly dissected and found to be worthless: dominion, prelacy, learning, riches, long life, enjoyments, honours and many things beside. The reasoning is negative; the pictures are grey and mournful; the melody is in a minor key throughout.

The second part is still, in its intention, negative, "treating of the perverse customs and deceptions of the world,"[3] but it is shot through and through with golden light of amazing brilliance. If the first four chapters describe the world's illusory consolations, the fifth reminds us how "God gives more than He promises." The world says that battle is to the strong; God uplifts those that are fallen. The world withdraws its adherents from God, but God has overcome the world. Gradually the author is passing from purely negative teaching to purely positive; denouncing vices, but also inculcating the love of virtues; urging his readers to flee from worldly delights, but also pointing them to the delights of Heaven. The chapters which describe "how greatly God loves peace," "how great sweetness and consolation are in God," and "how God reveals His secrets to the humble,"[4] are as appealing as any that Estella has written.

The third book, almost purely positive in its teaching,

[1] Ed. 1562 (Bibl., No. 1518): "Aprobación del Santo Oficio."

[2] Ed. 1574 (Bibl., No. 1523): "Mathias Gast al lector" (Publisher's preface). The more easily accessible edition of the *Tratado de la Vanidad del Mundo* (abbreviated *T.V.M.*), used for references in this chapter, is that of Madrid, 1787 (Bibl., No. 1539).

[3] *T.V.M.*, segunda parte, title (*ed. cit.*, p. 153).

[4] *T.V.M.*, bk. ii, chaps. 36, 63, 93.

is the most attractive of all. It ranges over a large variety of subjects. Barely touching upon the introductory theme of the world's insufficiency, it passes at once to the complementary one of the all-sufficiency of God. And here it stays, considering every facet of this marvellous and precious truth, before passing on to its next subject, that of love. Whenever a negative or a critical theme is introduced, it is immediately followed by a positive and a constructive one. We must deny ourselves—and follow Jesus Christ. We must consider our human misery—but also the all-powerfulness of God. We must fear eternal punishment—and wait expectantly for eternal glory.

It will be readily understood that such mystical teaching as we find in the *Book of the Vanity of the World* would occur in the third book rather than in the first or the second. Unfortunately, it is impossible here to describe the greater part of this for lack of material. In spite of an extensive search which we ourselves have made, and of an even wider one made by Fr. Atanasio López, O.F.M., for the centenary study of Estella in the *Archivo Ibero-Americano* for which he was responsible,[1] no edition has come to light which contains what the original table of contents promises. In every one of the existing editions, as we believe, there is a curious discrepancy between the table of the original edition and the actual contents of the book in Chapters 63 to 67 of Book III. The table of contents runs thus :

63. Of the excellence of the contemplative life.
64. Of the three ways—purgative, illuminative and unitive.
65. Of the purgative way.
66. Of the illuminative way.
67. Of the unitive way.

But the chapter-headings in the text, which in some of the later editions appear also in the table of contents, are quite different :

63. Of the exercises of the active life.
64. Of the confidence that we must have in God.

[1] Bibl., No. 1658.

65. Of the remedy against distrust.
66. That the servant of God must flee from his own opinion.
67. Of self-conquest.

For some reason, then, Diego de Estella forwent his intention of giving an outline of the contemplative life, which would have come well within the scope of his third book, or, alternatively, having made such an outline, he substituted for it five ascetic chapters, forgetting to alter the chapter-headings in the table of contents. What can have been the reason for the change? Not, presumably, any definite fear of the Inquisition, for not only had he yet to encounter the Holy Office when he revised this treatise, but there is nothing in his other works to suggest that his treatment of the subject would have been in the least degree unorthodox. More probably the change was made in deference to the wishes of the censors, when the manuscript was first presented to them. Did they find anything in these chapters not in accordance with tradition? Did they think them out of place in a work of the nature of the *Vanity of the World*? Did they suggest, or did Estella himself decide, that they should be omitted here in order to find a place in the as yet unwritten *Meditations*, or in a future treatise to be devoted to the mystical life which the author's premature death prevented him from writing? We can only ask these questions, and hope that time and the discovery of Estella's original manuscript may reveal the reply.

Several of the remaining chapters give us sidelights on Estella as a mystical writer, though they do not of themselves greatly modify the conception that we already have of him. After holding up the mystic's ideal in the early chapters of Book III, in terms which foreshadow the opening of the *Meditations*, he leaves for a time the presentation of the mystical side of religion, to return to it in chapter 23, "On Meditation and Contemplation." We may detect here something like impatience with the divisions and subdivisions so common in mystical literature which we should not perhaps have expected. It is usual, for example, to find a clear distinction drawn

between meditation and contemplation, which is really fundamental to any of the traditional accounts of the Mystic Way. Diego de Estella admits that there is such a distinction, but appears to slur it over and certainly minimizes its importance. "Necessary," he writes, "are both meditation and contemplation, between which there is this difference alone, that meditation belongs to him that with labour and difficulty thinks upon God, and contemplation to him that is practised and has formed a habit whereby he thinks upon this same Lord with greater facility and sweetness." [1] Then he goes on to state, with perfect truth, but somewhat irrelevantly to the distinction he has made, that

> Neither in meditation, nor yet in contemplation, consists perfection, but in the love of God.[2]

His next words make it evident that he is using the word "contemplation" in something like the Lullian sense :

> Contemplation is the work of the understanding, and the road and means to perfection ; but perfection consists in the raising of our will to God by Divine union and sovereign love.[3]

He goes on to say that many philosophers pursued pure and speculative contemplation for its own sake, believing that in it resided perfection. But in this there was more "subtlety of the understanding than fervour of the affection." [4] Contemplation must be pursued with a view, not to knowledge, but to love ; not for its own sake, but for the sake of its object—*i.e.*, God. "The soul," as Estella has himself said at the beginning of his third book, "may be busied with many other things than God, but it cannot be filled by them." [5] In the passage which we are now analyzing, he expresses a similar thought in a terser, almost proverbial form : "Our soul is not fed by the understanding." [6]

[1] *T.V.M.*, bk. iii, chap. 23 (*ed. cit.*, p. 339).
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* *Cf.* pp. 211–13 above.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *T.V.M.*, bk. iii, chap. 2 (*ed. cit.*, p. 306).
[6] *T.V.M.*, bk. iii, chap. 23 (*ed. cit.*, p. 339) : "El entendimiento no da de comer a nuestra alma."

He ends this part of his theme, then, upon an exhortation to rise above both meditation and contemplation—in the sense which he gives to these terms—and to exercise the understanding less than the will. For "once the understanding has revealed the abyss of the infinite goodness of God, cold indeed will be the will that, like another phœnix, is not wholly consumed in the fire of the Divine love." [1]

The same ideas as these are repeated in chapter 36, "Of desire for Divine fruition," the ideal signified being described in the most general terms, and no definite mystical process being so much as suggested. In the earlier chapters (27–29) Estella has written of themes which have some connexion with the mystical life. One of these chapters, on love of solitude, turns upon solitary converse with Christ, and gives practical advice—again of quite a general kind—on solitude and its uses. The second, following the same line of thought, extols "recollection and enclosure" by the use of a homely figure. "The candle that is enclosed within the lantern keeps alight, but, as soon as it is taken out, the least wind extinguishes it." [2] The third chapter, on silence, continues this argument.

Once more Estella returns to this subject, *viz.* in chapters 61 and 62, which precede the five lost chapters already mentioned. It is apparent that here he is introducing a subject which he intends to treat more fully. The earlier of the two, on "holy repose" (*ociosidad*), refers to no single mystical state, but to the contemplative life in general. The latter, "on the excellence of the active life," repeats ideas already set out, and is of no importance to us apart from the following chapter "on the excellence of the contemplative life," which has disappeared. At this point, then, we must perforce leave our survey uncompleted.

[1] *T.V.M.*, bk. iii, chap. 23 (*ed. cit.*, p. 339).
[2] *T.V.M.*, bk. iii, chap. 28 (*ed. cit.*, p. 346).

IV

Thus far we may sum up Estella's mysticism in three propositions. First, there is no trace in his writings that he had personal experience of supernatural contemplation : on this our opinion will not alter. Secondly, he has no desire to give any organic account of the mystical life in its various stages of progression : the missing evidence alluded to above may, if it ever appears, modify this impression, but is at least as likely to confirm it. Thirdly, he is continually presenting to his readers, now in full light, now by flashes, the mystical ideal which he chose as the theme of his first book, the *Life of Saint John the Evangelist*. He is a noteworthy example of one " who has fallen in love with God " [1] and yearns to inspire his fellow men that they may do so likewise. He gives them, as it were, the raw material of mysticism, leaving others with the requisite skill and experience to turn it into the finished product.

This last impression is one which is borne upon the reader with ever redoubling intensity as he studies Estella's greatest, though not until recent years his most popular book, the *Meditations on the Love of God*. This, like the *Book of the Vanity of the World*, was composed for the general reader, and, in accordance with their character, the two books have several external traits in common. They are written, even to their quotations, wholly in Spanish. Though not free from indebtedness to other writers, they avoid repelling their public by introducing quotations and lists of authorities. Their style is as even and quiet as Estella's habitual eloquence will allow, with repetitions which, however censurable from a literary standpoint, are natural enough, if not indeed inevitable, in the unaffected language of piety, and with many passages of great beauty upon which anyone with a love of the Spanish language delights to linger. These stylistic judgments are especially applicable to the *Meditations*, which, regarded merely as prose,

[1] *S.S.M.*, I, p. xiii.

have to our mind been greatly overpraised. The unbiassed critic will object, not only to their prolixity, but to their formlessness and their over-frequent use of ejaculation—defects which he may well consider to be unatoned for by a handful of purple passages. The reader who takes them in the spirit in which they were written, on the other hand, finds it impossible to consider them so impartially. For he recognizes all the pent-up emotion of one who had not the power to make a careful selection of his words—in short, of the lover.[1] The *Meditations* are essentially a " Book of the Lover and the Beloved," the work of one whose heart, amid all the changes and chances of an Inquisition-ridden existence, was surely fixed where true joys are to be found.

The two books have also this in common, that they are complementary, the first leading up to the second. We have seen already how the greater part of the first book is written for the conversion of worldlings, but how the last section is concerned rather with the converted. Gradually this book draws the imagination away from the worldly vanities which form its principal theme, toward the eternal realities which are set over against them. The very focus and centre of the latter part of the book, the key to a comprehension of it, is the fact of God's all-sufficiency for the soul. The *Meditations*, concerned wholly with the life of the Christian, take up this theme of the Divine all-sufficiency, play upon it, vary it, return to it, caress it and exult in it, as a musician might who has found the master-theme which he has been seeking for a lifetime.

The *Meditations* have not the progression of a treatise, for they are not a treatise. The only link that binds them together is their title—their subject. So full is the author of this subject—and of that virtue which alone (in his own words) knows no limit[2]—that he pours forth the tale of his affections without measure. God's love for

[1] This is the reason for the book's " indefinible encanto, que no está en las palabras ni en los períodos : es algo que recrea, conmueve e hinche el alma " (*Fray Diego de Estella*, etc., Bibl., No. 1659, p. 110).

[2] Meditación 6 : ed. 1920 (Bibl., No. 1590), p. 22.

man, man's love to God, God's gift to man, man's gratitude to God, God's demands of man, man's response to God : these are some of the facets of Estella's argument.

We have observed more than once in this chapter how profoundly Estella is influenced by St. Augustine,—more so, probably, than any other Spanish Franciscan. His indebtedness reaches its height in the *Meditations*. Not without reason does he begin his dedication—the first words of the book [1]—with a quotation from that doctor. Any well-read person familiar with the *Meditations* would find difficulty in believing that they contain only one other actual reference by name to St. Augustine,[2] so impregnated are they with his spirit.

The same sentence in the dedicatory epistle that mentions this Saint quotes St. Paul's description of love as " the bond of perfectness which unites our soul with God." [3] We have again, therefore, at the outset of one of Estella's books, the aim of the mystic placed before the reader in set terms. It is repeated, in one form or another, again and again.

Having set forth the aim of the mystic, he endeavours to inspire his readers with a desire to make the mystic's character their own. Let them test their lives, at the least, by the mystic's standard. " Love is life : he that loves not lives not." [4] " If thou wilt know, my soul, whether thou art dead or living, see if thou lovest thy God or no." [5] And this love must be pure and entirely voided of self-interest—the love which shines forth in the oft-quoted sonnet, " No me mueve, mi Dios. . . ." [6] Estella almost paraphrases this sonnet in one of his early meditations :

> Not only do we love Thee for the sake of the good things for which we hope from Thee, not because Thou threatenest with torments those that love Thee not, but principally because Thou commandest it. . . . He that seeks Thee alone shall find Thee and with Thyself shall have all things that are good. Thee alone

[1] *Ed. cit.*, p. v.
[2] Meditación 14, *ed. cit.*, p. 54.
[3] *Ed. cit.*, p. v.
[4] Meditación 45, *ed. cit.*, p. 189.
[5] Meditación 46, *ed. cit.*, p. 194.
[6] *S.S.M.*, I, pp. v–vi.

do I love and desire, Thou alone art my prize. . . . Freely, my soul, must thou love Him that freely bought thee.[1]

This love is the whole matter of the book, as it is also that of the life lived near to God :

Let him that so desires boast himself and say that he works from morning till night, bearing the burden and heat of the day. Let another laud himself, saying that he is not as other men are, and that he fasts twice in the week. To me, Lord, one thing is good, namely to attain to Thee and to place in Thee all my hope.[2]

And it is of this love that Estella writes with the greatest power and fervour :

Let the tyrant become ever more cruel ; let the fire be enkindled, the tortures prepared, the knives be sharpened, the beasts be clamouring to tear their victim to pieces and devour him ; let the iron combs be brought for his disembowelling, the pitch and resin be heated, the most fearful and terrible things that can be invented be brought together ; and all this will be overcome and conquered by the great power of love.[3]

Such a position as this of Estella's is entirely in harmony with that of the greater mystics—in few of them, indeed, is it taken up more clearly or expounded with greater emphasis and eloquence. They liken the desire of the soul for God to that of a bride for her bridegroom. But to Estella no bride, " how often soever she count the days and the hours," can desire her lover as the soul desires Christ.[4] No more than the son's longing for his father or that of a prisoner for the friend who will ransom him can such a metaphor suffice. Only the truth can do that.

Thy Divine love sets so great a desire in me that my soul desires Thee, not with the desire of this life, but as one desires God. For such desire alone is worthy of Thee, and, if I should compare it with any other, this is but to say that between them there is some resemblance, and not that the one is an image of the other. Because to measure with a thing of earth aught that has to do with Thee is greatly to affront Thee.[5]

[1] Meditación 3, *ed. cit.*, pp. 10–11.
[2] Meditación 21, *ed. cit.*, p. 81.
[3] Meditación 58, *ed. cit.*, p. 252.
[4] Meditación 77, *ed. cit.*, p. 339.
[5] *Ibid.*

Where Estella falls below the greater mystics is not here. They begin, as he does, by writing for all Christians. But as they mount higher, they gradually narrow their ground ; and soon they are writing only for a company as small as was Gideon's picked band in relation to his larger army. Estella, on the other hand, never for long together, and never at all avowedly, writes for a smaller public than that composed of all who love our Lord in sincerity. As we shall now show, there are paragraphs in the *Meditations* which only the mystic can interpret fully, and it is probable that their author had the mystic at least partly in his mind when he wrote them. But nearly everything he writes is in some sense applicable to the Christian in general, and he is continually at pains to point out that he is writing for all, and not for a chosen few. " Were salvation to be found in almsgiving," is his argument, " the poor would be lost. . . . Were it in fasting, the weak and sickly would be lost. Were it in learning and wisdom, what would the simple do ? " [1] But the love of God is confined to no single class : it is for all.

> Who can excuse himself from loving Thee ? All can love Thee, Lord, learned and ignorant, rich and poor, small and great, young and old, men and women. To every estate and every age love is common. None is too weak, none too poor, and none too old to love. . . .
>
> Many are in Heaven who, for lack of ability, never fasted, gave alms or went for pilgrimages, but none is there who has not loved God. . . . Love is ready for all : in every place, at every time and in every season canst thou love.[2]

Now Francisco de Osuna had written in this way of the life of mental prayer. " This communion is no less possible—oh man, whoever thou art—to thee, than to others. . . . If thou saidst that thou couldst not fast, nor take the discipline, nor wear rough clothing, nor labour, nor journey, we could believe thee ; but if thou sayest that thou canst not love, we believe thee not." [3]

[1] Meditación 59, *ed. cit.*, pp. 254–5. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual*, bk. i, chap. i, quoted in *Survey*, pp. 60–1, 180. *Cf.* pp. 365–6, below.

But Osuna narrows his field continually as he describes first one and then another degree of higher prayer. In Estella the lines just quoted may fairly be taken as representative of the spirit of his entire book.

He uses, for example, the mystics' symbolism of fire, but almost always in a sense quite as applicable to the active life as to the contemplative.

O sweet fire ! O sweet flame, that meltest hearts colder than snow and convertest them into love ! [1]

Thy holy love must grow within my breast, that it may burst into living flames of love.[2]

No wood need be thrown on that fire, for it feeds itself. The flames of Thy holy love in Thy most sacred Passion mount on high. Thy torments and afflictions are the wood wherewith this holy fire burns.[3]

O boundless goodness of my God ! How can I contemplate this chasm of perfection and not burn in flames of the Divine love ? [4]

Love is a fire, and is like the fire in its beginnings, for when it comes near to the substance of the wood, it is impure and full of smoke, but after it has begun to rise to its own sphere it becomes ever purer, lighter, clearer and more refined. So is it with love, which, though in its beginnings it is imperfect, defiled and earthly, rises ever towards its rightful sphere, which is God, perfecting itself until it reach Him and gaining ever somewhat until it arrive at the point of perfection.[5]

What is true of this one figure may be taken as true, with certain modifications and some few exceptions, of the rest.

There are, however, in the *Meditations* a number of references, if secondary ones, to the Mystic Way. The seventy-fourth meditation, " On the degrees of Divine love," refers primarily to the progression of the Christian from loving God for His gifts to loving Him for Himself. But it may also be interpreted of the Purgative and of the Illuminative Way, " wherein the imperfections of our love are filed away, purified and refined, until we attain to the height and summit of that which is love indeed." [6]

[1] Meditación 18, *ed. cit.*, p. 65.
[2] Meditación 22, *ed. cit.*, p. 84.
[3] Meditación 28, *ed. cit.*, p. 113.
[4] Meditación 87, *ed. cit.*, p. 387.
[5] Meditación 74, *ed. cit.*, p. 325.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 324–5.

There are references to a contemplation which seems to have advanced beyond the point at which it is regarded as merely an intellectual exercise. "Thou must soar aloft, my soul, and be lifted on high in contemplation, raising not alone the understanding but likewise the affection and the will to the love of thy Spouse, Jesus Christ." [1] Other passages may be taken as describing, not only the "quietness and confidence" on which Estella has already laid stress, but also a state, suggested possibly by descriptions of the Prayer of Quiet, "in which all these movements of thy heart shall cease . . . and all things shall be stilled, and thou shalt rejoice, for thou shalt attain to stability of the soul, and thou shalt abound and shalt marvel and thy heart shall be enlarged, so as to be fixed and stable and never to move itself more." [2] Other references are less definite but equally applicable. No "Divine fire of holy love" can come save to the heart that is "peaceful and quiet" [3] "Rest and quiet" come to those who place themselves in the hands of the Beloved.[4] In such a condition "will be found inward peace, joy of the heart and Paradise upon earth." [5]

A more definite allusion still is found, this time to ecstasy and union, in the sixty-eighth meditation, which permits of no other interpretation than the mystical one; but, on the other hand, the experience is merely described and in no sense presented as normal.[6] Union with God, the passage runs, is possible even upon earth, and often those who are the "dear friends" of God are seen to have become "insensible to all works of man":

> They have become men in ecstasy. Their eyes are open, but they see not. They are wounded, but they feel it not. Without eating, they have no hunger, and they traverse long distances unconsciously, returning at length to human dealings with Thy graces and riches filling their breasts. Of such strength is this holy love that not only in such union does man dwell with Thee upon earth, speaking and treating with Thy Divine Majesty,

[1] Meditación 86, *ed. cit.*, p. 382.
[2] Meditación 59, *ed. cit.*, pp. 257–8.
[3] Meditación 72, *ed. cit.*, p. 314.
[4] Meditación 21, *ed. cit.*, p. 79.
[5] Meditación 21, *ed. cit.*, p. 79.
[6] Meditación 68, *ed. cit.*, pp. 298–9.

but also he is united with the Beloved, without either of the twain losing his being. Man, who was human, is raised by Thee to be Divine ; yea, Thou dost raise him to Thy glory and immortality and transform him into Thyself.[1]

It may here be suggested that the vagueness of such a passage as this, where the nature of the union described is not made clear and the steps of attainment to it are not enumerated, or even mentioned, is more likely to cause misapprehensions than the more definite and more heightened, but carefully guarded statements of such writers as St. John of the Cross. And, when we go through the book and notice the very large number of references to the mystic's goal of union and transformation in the Beloved, we ask ourselves what readers who had no acquaintance with either the experiences or the language of mysticism would have made of them. A few phrases might be explained as referring to the hereafter.[2] In others the language could be regarded as purely metaphorical.[3] But it is impossible to explain such passages as these which follow by quoting a mystical doctor's figure of iron melting in the fire,[4] or in any other way indeed than by describing the whole course of the mystic's experience :

May I break the illusory contract that I have made with the world, and love Thee alone, and give myself to Thee with my love. Let me thus be transformed into Thyself, and be no more an earthly and a carnal man, but a man both heavenly and Divine.[5]

He [the man on fire with love] progresses until he reaches the point of perfection. When he has risen as high as he can rise, and is in a convenient state, he forgets himself and all things else, and is transported and transformed in his God, desiring no other good thing either in Heaven or on the earth save the Creator and Lord of all things. . . . Who shall attain to this degree of love ? Blessed is he that has come to a degree so lofty ; has forgotten himself and all things else ; and, alienated totally from himself, gives himself wholly to Thee, my God, and passes into (*se traspasa en*) Thee.[6]

[1] Meditación 68, *ed. cit.*, pp. 298–9.
[2] E.g. *ed. cit.*, pp. 258, 325 (if taken with the last paragraph).
[3] E.g. *ed. cit.*, pp. 185, 295.
[4] *E.g.* Meditación 68, *ed. cit.*, p. 295.
[5] Meditación 49, *ed. cit.*, p. 209.
[6] Meditación 74, *ed. cit.*, p. 325.

In this last description, it may be added, the author (perhaps conscious of the boldness of his language) declares that "such happiness and blessedness . . . belong more to the life to come than to this life," but adds that it is definitely attainable on earth nevertheless, and that, "if now and again we reach this degree of excellent and pure love, we must persevere therein." [1]

A still bolder phraseology, however, is employed in the next meditation but one. None of the mystics has used stronger words than *deificado* and *endiosado* of the state of Union—it is hard, indeed, to know what stronger words there can be :

> So great and so rare is the power of love, that I must needs be even as is the object of my love, and according to that at which I arrive by love. There is naught that joins or adheres in as lasting a fashion as love, which joins and unites us with the Beloved in such a way as to transform the lover into the object of his love. Love is naught but a mutual and unitive virtue. As iron, when it is greatly heated in the forge, becomes fire, so my heart, as it burns, O my God, in Thy Divine and sacred fire, is wholly transformed in Thyself by love ; it is deified (*deificado*) and made as God (*endiosado*). The iron, cold and hard, black and dark as it is, becomes converted into fire, grows soft, warm, bright and shining, and takes all the properties of fire, doing all its offices and everything that is done by fire, since it can burn, shed light and enkindle.
>
> The Scriptures call Thee fire, O our God and Lord, and even such do we become when we attain to Thee through love, for whereas we were once sinners, hard like iron, obstinate, cold, dark and rude, now that we have attained through love to Thyself and love has thrust us into this forge of living flames, like to that in which Moses saw Thee in the Bush, we are converted into Thyself and made as fire, so that we work Divine works and are spiritual men, and no longer carnal and worldly as we were. Even so the apostle St. Paul was converted and transformed into Thee, as he said to the Galatians : "I live, and yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." [2]
>
> So did the holy Apostle live in Thee, and so was he transformed in Thee, that his life was no longer his own, nor was he in himself,

[1] Meditación 74, *ed. cit.*, pp. 325–6.

[2] Meditación 76, pp. 333–4. The context will be found in *Survey*, p. 256, and its translation into English on pp. 152–3.

but in the Beloved. Would, O my God and Lord, that so my soul might be absorbed in that ocean of infinite love and goodness, that I might no longer be myself, but rather, by Divine participation, a copy and an image of Thy sovereign goodness and mercy.[1]

And what attempt, it will be asked, does Estella make to explain this process of transformation? He makes no explanation, either of how it comes about or of its nature, apart from what he has written already. He tells his reader that it is "produced by love within the soul," the process of transformation being "neither violent nor painful nor laborious nor enforced" and preludes to it being detachment, contemplation and the endurance of trials.[2] This, to the student, may read like a first sketch of an orthodox description of the Purgative and Illuminative Ways and the Dark Night of the Spirit, but it is not developed and its effect is negligible. All that Estella can be said to do further is to present this nebulous road as leading to this almost incomprehensible state of union, and to describe the path and the goal in such a way as to make the ordinary Christian believe them to be attainable, if only with difficulty. The sublimity of the goal, in particular, he would have him ponder, and the bare possibility of its attainment should move him to greater efforts of love.

This passing (*traspasamiento*) of the lover into the thing that is loved is neither violent nor painful nor laborious nor enforced, but free and voluntary, sweet and of great delight. And hence the will, that in this way is united through love with the thing it loves, can be by no act of violence withdrawn from it, but by its free will alone. Would, O my God, that my will were deprived of such freedom, and such desire to be free, that when I had once loved Thee, I might never turn back nor change either love or will, but might love for ever and ever that highest Goodness and infinite Wealth wherein my heart perpetually burns in living flames of love. But love itself is free, though the will pass into (*traspase en*) the thing that is loved; and thus the will remains ever will, and has its freedom of power and desire, although by love it be transformed into the Beloved. A marvellous thing it is that in

[1] Gal. ii, 20.

[2] Meditación 76, *ed. cit.*, pp. 335–7.

this transformation of the Lover in the Beloved, the love is as the object of its love, and as is the love so is the will whence it is born.

Hence it follows that the thing which is first and chiefly loved gives name, nature and form to the will which loves. Whence it is to be concluded that since the property of love is to absorb, convert and transform the lover into the Beloved or into the thing loved, if the will love chiefly things of the earth, it becomes as earth ; earthly it becomes and earthly is its love ; and if it love mortal things, mortal and human is its will ; if it love angels, it becomes angelic ; if it love Thee, our Lord and God, it becomes Divine.

Herein is revealed and declared a great dignity in man, namely that through love he may be transformed and changed into anything that he desires, be it higher or lower than he. . . . So then if I may rise to such high dignity by means of love, it is right, my Lord and my God, that my heart should love Thee by night and by day all the days of my life.[1]

It is difficult to exaggerate the beauty of Estella's language here, or the nobility of the conceptions which it enshrines. But one continually has the feeling that he is striving to escape from literalness, and it is impossible to suppose that such treatments of this theme can even approach in effectiveness the greatest mystics' bare and unadorned records of their own experiences, or their expositions of the life of contemplation in all its length and fullness, as drawn from the experiences of others.

What shall be our judgment of the *Meditations* considered as a classic of Spanish mysticism ? Surely, if we read it aright, that it deserves the title more truly than many a work which professes to be a treatise of mystical theology, and that its claim to it depends in no way upon its treatment of certain narrowly mystical themes. On every page it breathes the spirit of contemplation. It is concerned wholly with God and the soul ; and in its insistence upon the qualities essential in the soul that would soar toward God and its fidelity to the atmosphere in which alone contemplation can flourish, it is of the greatest service to mystical literature. For it stimulates those whom elaborate treatises would only repel. " It

[1] Meditación 76, *ed. cit.*, p. 336. Cf. *Survey*, pp. 152–6, 256–9.

puts spurs," to use its own language, " to one who is already running willingly " [1] ; and not only increases in all who read it that love of God which is as essential to the active as to the contemplative, but leads those who are called to higher prayer onward and upward. It purifies their hearts and illumines their understanding, though it leaves other books to carry them on toward that goal of union of which it keeps them continually in remembrance.

[1] Meditación 43, *ed. cit.*, p. 179.

CHAPTER IX

AUGUSTINIAN MYSTICISM: CRISTÓBAL DE FONSECA AND PEDRO MALÓN DE CHAIDE

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I

The discussions of the two preceding chapters on Alonso de Orozco and Diego de Estella as mystics lead us naturally to consider how far we can so term certain of the other authors who crowd the stage at this greatest period of Spanish mysticism—the last third of the sixteenth century. There are some critics, as we have said, who admit only as mystical writers those who have dealt principally—or at any rate in considerable detail—with infused contemplation, who have written, either largely or wholly, from their own experiences, or have mapped out for others the entire mystical way, or a large part of it, making divisions and sub-divisions which to a few may be helpful but to others are merely perplexing. Such critics, as it seems to us, miss much that is of importance in the literature of mysticism. In the works of Estella we have comparatively few references to the mystical life as traditionally represented, but we have as compensation a large share of the mystical spirit. From which does either the contemplative or the general reader derive more profit? Certainly from the latter. The scope of these *Studies* allows the inclusion of any writers who may be judged to have envisaged clearly the mystic's ideal, and are, either in their personal experience or in their writings, working towards it, as well as some whose apprehension of their aim and conception of the way to it are both vague, but of whom it may be said with absolute certainty that they are mystics at heart.

Considered thus, the Spanish mystics include ascetics like Luis de Granada, only one of whose themes is the mystical life; mystically-minded writers like Juan de Ávila and Luis de León, who, for different reasons and often through force of circumstances, deal with mysticism only occasionally; derivative or schematic mystics,

of whom the Carmelite Order and the Society of Jesus have given us outstanding examples ; psychologists like Juan de los Ángeles ; experimentalists, of whom St. Teresa is the greatest ; and others—Laredo and Osuna are notable examples—who write mainly of one particular aspect of the Mystic Way. In all these types Spain is rich, and the contributions of each and all take their proper place and have their own peculiar value in her history.

Of the various religious orders whose members are represented in these culminating years of Spain's Golden Age, the Augustinians have probably the largest number of writers who may be said to fringe the mystical field rather than to devote themselves to it entirely. Most of these are dealt with in P. Monasterio's series of brief studies which, if it must be allowed that they differ considerably in merit, are suggestive even when superficial, and cannot be passed over by any student interested in this branch of the subject. From the great company of lesser Augustinian mystics we have selected two personalities of interest who have not only written books that enjoy a reputation in Spanish literature, but offer a striking contrast which bears very definitely on the question that we have been discussing.

Not a great deal is known of the life of Cristóbal de Fonseca. The date of his birth is generally given as about 1550, but this is a pure conjecture based entirely on probabilities. The place of his birth was the village of Santa Olalla, some fifty miles from Madrid, in the diocese of Toledo. It was at Toledo that he professed in the Augustinian monastery on February 8, 1566. Then comes a long period of twenty-five years, during which we hear nothing of him whatever. He wrote no books and apparently held no offices in his order. This assumption agrees with that already made—namely, that he professed when still young—and, if both are correct, he would have emerged into publicity a few months after reaching the age of forty.

Once he became known, he advanced with great

rapidity. In 1591 he was Prior of the Augustinian monastery of Segovia. The following year witnessed the publication of his first book, the *Treatise on the Love of God*, which had an immediate success and went into eight editions in the first seven years of its existence. In the same year (1592) Fonseca became Visitor of the Province of Castile. In 1596 he published a second work, at Toledo, called the *First Part of the Life of Christ Our Lord*. This went into six editions by 1601, when a second part appeared, followed by a third part (Madrid, 1605), a fourth (Madrid, 1611), and a second part to the *Treatise on the Love of God*, which appeared at Valencia in 1608. Finally, Fonseca published a series of sermons on the Gospels for Lent (Madrid, 1614), which was also known as the *Fifth Part of the Life of Christ Our Lord*.

The issue of so many of his later books from the capital suggests that he was frequently or permanently a resident there, and, in fact, he lived in Madrid for at least the last fourteen years of his life. In 1596 and again in 1607 we hear of him as "Maestro de la Provincia de Castilla," and on another occasion, of doubtful date, he seems to have been "Rector provincial."[1] A more important fact is that in 1607 he was elected Prior of the convent of San Felipe el Real, in Madrid, where, it will be remembered, Alonso de Orozco had resided in his old age. In 1609 he became Definitor of his province, an office to which he was re-elected in 1615. He died at San Felipe on November 9, 1621.

During the whole of his later life, his books had been selling steadily, and he died at the height of his fame as a writer of religious literature. Only in 1620, an edition of the two parts of his *Treatise* was published in Madrid by Luis Sánchez, and in the very year of his death the same publisher issued a collected edition of the four parts of his *Life of Christ Our Lord*. For years his books had been appearing in Italian ; shortly after his death was published an English translation of the sermons on

[1] On these offices, see Santiago Vela (Bibl., No. 1491), vol. ii, p. 621.

the Lenten Gospels, and in 1652 another translation, to which we shall again allude.

But, though Fonseca's reputation travelled abroad, it is chiefly in Spain that he has won celebrity as a writer. If the Spanish Academy included him in its Catálogo de Autoridades de la Lengua, it followed in the wake of a rare company of illustrious eulogists. Lope de Vega's punning reference to Fonseca in one of his poems is certainly not to be considered as an unmeaning conventionality.[1] Cervantes shows the greatest respect for him when he couples him with León Hebreo and lauds his *Treatise on the Love of God*.[2] Vicente Espinel is a no less enthusiastic, if a somewhat unexpected eulogist.[3] The testimony of St. François de Sales [4] might carry more weight with those who read Fonseca for his content rather than his style; and Menéndez y Pelayo, who led a tardy reaction against him which has not been too whole-heartedly followed, gives us to understand that he was a principal source for so weighty an author as Nieremberg.[5] These testimonies to the high esteem in which Fonseca has been held must in fairness to his memory be set against any depreciatory criticism of him as a mystic.

[1] "Fonseca universal fuente perenne,
Ya no Fonseca, sino fuente viva,
Pues en admiración el mundo tiene
Tu misma pluma, tu alabanza escriba."
(*Jerusalén conquistada*, Madrid, 1609, fol. 497.)

[2] "Y si no queréis andaros por tierras extrañas, en vuestra casa tenéis a Fonseca *Del Amor de Dios*, donde se cifra todo lo que vos y el más ingenioso acertare a desear en tal materia" (*Don Quijote*, Prólogo).

[3] "El padre maestro Fonseca escribió divinamente del amor de Dios, y con ser materia tan alta, tiene muchas cosas donde puede el ingenio espaciarse y vagarse con deleite y gusto. . . . Lugar tiene la moralidad para el deleite, y espacio el deleite para la doctrina" (*Marcos de Obregón*, Dedicatory Letter).

[4] See pp. 264–5, below.

[5] *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. iii, Madrid, 1896, p. 151. This seems to be the implication of the critic's not perhaps too carefully weighed sentence.

II

On opening the first volume of the *Treatise on the Love of God*, the reader is at once struck by the bluntness and directness with which the author sets about his task. He has no intention of apologizing for anything in his book, like those who " give the causes and reasons which made them write in our vulgar tongue, though not vulgarly or of vulgar matters." [1] Luis de León and Malón de Chaide, he adds, taking two recent examples from his own Order, have made any excuses for writing in Spanish superfluous. Then, as to other explanations, " the reasons which moved me to write this treatise do not concern the reader, and so I will not tell them to him. Nor will I apologize for errors in my book. It is impossible that it should have none, and even had it none, it is impossible but that some wit of a grammarian should attribute some to it." [2] Given life and health, he proposes to write " many more books on varied subjects," a promise which he makes the more light-heartedly " by reason of the little labour which this book has cost me and the briefness of the time in which I have composed it." [3]

Such self-confidence, and such terseness in the expressing of it, are most unusual in a book written at this epoch, and we turn with interest and expectation to the work of so ready a writer. He describes the subject of his treatise with equal brevity :

> The argument of this book is love in general, and the love of all kinds of things in particular. [4]

Of the forty-seven chapters of the first edition, the first eleven deal with the general part of the theme, after which eight describe the love of man for God, and of God for man, and the remainder of the book becomes a

[1] *Tratado del Amor de Dios*, Salamanca, 1592 (Bibl., No. 1668 : the edition used throughout except as otherwise stated), p. xiii.

[2] *Ed. cit.*, pp. xiii–xiv.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, p. xiv. " Atrévome a hacer tan larga promesa, favoreciéndome el cielo, por el poco trabajo que éste me ha costado, y por el breve tiempo en que le he compuesto."

[4] *Ed. cit.*, p. xiii.

collection of essays, somewhat loosely strung together and inconsequently arranged. They reflect on love to one's neighbour, to one's enemies and to one's friends ; love of self, of possessions, of life, of honours, of riches, of pleasures, of women, of human beauty ; inordinate love of food, drink and clothing ; marital, paternal and filial love, and love of one's country.[1] It will be seen that descent from the general to the particular, and from the important to the unimportant, is the approximate rule which the author has followed. The plan is one which has all the disadvantages of anti-climax, with the great corresponding advantage, to a writer putting but " little labour " into his work, that he can terminate it when and where he desires.

The opening pages reveal Fonseca as a philosopher and a Platonist. The first word of the first chapter is " Plato," an episode from one of Plato's dialogues serving as introduction to the theme of love. Profane writers form a respectable proportion of his authorities ; even when quoting the pseudo-Dionysius in a mystical passage, he passes easily from him to Aristotle and Plato before returning to him with equal facility. Of the Fathers, his chief authority is naturally St. Augustine, and in his use of the rest there is nothing particularly worthy of consideration.

In 1598, Fonseca published an enlarged edition of his *Treatise on the Love of God*,[2] adding to it seven more chapters, which, however, do no more than interpolate reflections on the brevity of life, the certainty of death, the love of women and the snares of physical beauty, and enlarge the author's essays on riches, honour and pastimes.[3] The second part of the *Treatise* (1608)

[1] P. Monasterio gives a circumstantial summary of the book (*op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 320–30), at greater length than is possible or desirable here, devoting to it almost the whole of his essay and saying hardly anything of the other works at all.

[2] Bibl., No. 1677. The title page says : " Hanse añadido en esta impresión muchas cosas importantes y enmendádose muchos descuidos y defectos de imprenta que las demás tenían."

[3] Ed. Toledo, 1598, chaps. 32, 36, 45, 46, 48. *Cf.* chaps. 39, 42, 44. The chapters of the earlier editions are renumbered and here and there modified or enlarged.

consists of two lengthy volumes, and is as completely lacking in system as its predecessor. Beginning with a chapter on the love of Heaven, the first volume launches inconsequently into a disquisition on holy reading and another on the Divine praises. The following chapter, on the Blessed Virgin, suggests in its turn a chapter on the love which we owe the saints, and this (presumably by the same process of descent as we have already referred to) suggests another on the reverence which we owe to priests. The rest of the first volume is mainly concerned with various virtues, though its two final chapters are on the tongue, and on the truth of the Christian religion, respectively. The second volume, beginning with a chapter on the love of virtue, continues on a lower note, and may be most comprehensively and least vaguely described as a collection of miscellaneous essays on tribulation, death, purgatory and prayers for the dead.

Fonseca's contribution to the literature of mysticism (if we take the last substantive for the moment in its narrower sense, to return to the broader sense shortly) seems to depend almost wholly upon the pseudo-Dionysius, whose writings he evidently knew well. It is not by any means a large one. His seventh and eighth chapters, on the transformation and the ecstasy that are caused by love, are inspired chiefly by the *Liber de Divinis Nominibus*. Love, he says, is "a virtue that causes an intimate union, a bond, a close knot betwixt the lover and the beloved." The unity between the souls and between the bodies of each

comes to pass by a transformation which is wrought in the lover, which is a transposition, a penetration, a change of abode into the beloved, even as a man passes from one house to live in another.[1] Such a change cannot be natural, so that nature changes with her foundations and her possessions, but must be spiritual and moral: that is to say, it is of the mobile of the will and of the other faculties, whose actions pass from the house wherein is their abode to the

[1] The original here runs: ". . . se hace por una transformación del que ama: que es un trasegarse, un traspasarse, un mudarse a vivir en la cosa amada, como de una casa a otra."

house wherein is their love and wherein they have all their desires ; and the two dwell in one house in neighbourhood and in companionship.[1]

Such language admits of more than one interpretation, though its full meaning can only be brought out by one who is describing mystical experience. Fonseca,—reversing, as it were, the process which he has followed in planning his book,—applies it first of all (quoting Aristotle and Horace) to friendship, then (quoting St. Paul and St. Augustine) to the Christian, and, finally, to the Christian contemplative. The last application is not very clearly made, but the mystical figures of the red-hot iron and the sun reflected in a mirror are suggestive,[2] and it is interesting to find them reinforced by a quotation from León Hebreo,[3] who is not used as much by the Spanish mystics of the generation succeeding his death as might be expected.

It is clear that Fonseca, besides a bent for philosophy, has a mind which delights in artificialities. After fringing the subject of mystical experience, and giving promise of entering it boldly, he describes three kinds of union, which are all the effects of love : that which " a man has with himself,"—*i.e.*, the union of soul and body, reason and will, etc. ; that which men have among themselves, " through Divine friendship, which is charity " ; and " that which is between God and the soul, whereof St. Paul himself says that the righteous man is made one spirit with God." And, after climbing once more, somewhat laboriously, to this height, Fonseca concludes the chapter with a quotation from Ovid ![4]

The following chapter, on ecstasy, reinforces St. Augustine and pseudo-Dionysius with the *Song of Songs*, though St. Paul and St. Gregory, on the one hand, and Virgil and Ovid, on the other, are also called in to illustrate a by no means inspiring exposition. The threefold definition which was applied to union is applied also to ecstasy. By this last word can be understood

[1] Chap. 7 (*ed. cit.*, p. 75).
[2] *Ibid.* (pp. 77–81).
[3] *Ibid.* (p. 84).
[4] *Ibid.* (p. 90).

"astonishment (*pasmo*) caused by great marvelling," "frenzy" (*locura*) and "a deep sleep, like that which fell upon Adam."[1] Fonseca is mainly concerned with the sleep, in describing which he makes the application to the mystical life quite definitely.

"From the transformation of the lover by love into the Beloved it follows . . . that the lover is enraptured and alienated from himself."[2] The mystic in ecstasy "sleeps, but his heart waketh,"

which is to say, that as he who sleeps has for the time his senses in total suspension, so that he neither hears, nor sees, nor speaks, nor feels, nor desires, even so at times does God communicate Himself to a soul with a torrent of love, and causes a river of peace to invade it so gently that it leaves it enraptured and withdrawn from itself and it sleeps to all the desires and cares of this life.[3]

The exposition goes farther: this sleep reaches the point at which it becomes the image of death, "depriving the soul of its understanding, reason, judgment and senses."[4] It is a state wholly above nature.

As these divinely enamoured souls walk in union with God, they live withdrawn from themselves, seeing things as though they were blind, hearing them as the deaf and talking of them as the dumb. Their spirits are wholly transported into God, and they live among the creatures as though they were far from them. Such a life is supernatural, the life of angels, and we may call these souls angels living upon earth, since, save for their bodies, they dwell altogether in Heaven.[5]

Fonseca excuses himself, in effect if not in intention, from writing of this at greater length, by adding that only those who have experienced love after this manner know what it is and can write about it.[6] And indeed it is only too clear from the *Treatise on the Love of God* that its author knows nothing at first hand about these matters, has read but little written by those that do, and is nevertheless desirous of writing about them in

[1] Chap. 8 (*ed. cit.*, pp. 90–1).
[2] *Ibid.* (p. 91; *cf.* chap. 9, p. 104).
[3] *Ibid.* (pp. 92–3).
[4] *Ibid.* (p. 93).
[5] *Ibid.* (p. 100).
[6] *Ibid.* (p. 101).

detail. For the last reason, he, and many others whose position approximates to his own, must enter into a history of Spanish mysticism; and it seems well to include in these studies at least one such writer, as an example of the somewhat uninspired, and even unintelligent application of the works of his predecessors, and the incorporation of them in this way into the literature of the subject in Spain. The fact that Fonseca's style, in spite of all that his eulogists say of him, is dull and monotonous, very rarely diversified by effective anecdote or vivid illustration, makes him the more representative of the class for which he stands, though less attractive as an individual than he might have been otherwise.

It is not surprising that when "Sir George Strode, Knight," being "inforced to eat (his) bread in foreign parts" during the "sad and distracted times" of the Commonwealth, turned to translation as a solace for his troubles, and perhaps also as a means of livelihood, he should have composed his English version of Fonseca's treatise with great freedom. He himself says that his editing of it consisted in making "some variation and much addition." But he does himself less than justice, for while his style, to be sure, is hardly more distinguished than Fonseca's, he perceived clearly the constructional defects of his original, and in consequence reduced its size by something like one-half, explaining its obscurities and omitting many of the chapters which are irrelevant to its main subject.

III

The stylistic qualities of the *Life of Christ Our Lord* are not unlike those of the treatise upon which we have just commented. Its four (or five) volumes[1] are loaded with allusions and quotations, both from sacred authors and from profane, and as a result are almost destitute of literary merit. Perhaps by this time Fonseca was

[1] See p. 255, above.

discovering that the facility and fluency of which he had boasted were qualities[1] which had their own particular disadvantages. The "great abundance and variety" of the material at his disposal, he writes at the beginning of one of his chapters, are "impoverishing his wit." Where so much attracts and invites him he hardly knows where to turn, and is continually in perplexity and indecision.[2]

Unhappily, he had not one of the expositor's most necessary gifts—skill in selection and presentation. The result is that the prologue to his *Life of Christ* alone contains as many quotations as some of his contemporaries used in a treatise. The scheme of the complete work is simple enough : its first part relates the principal events of Christ's earthly life, the second and third parts expound respectively His miracles and parables, while the fourth and fifth parts are homiletic. But the orderliness of the plan only emphasizes the unsatisfactoriness of its execution, and if further emphasis on this were needed it would at once be suggested by the nature of the narrative on which Fonseca's work is a commentary. No contrast could be more marked than that between the sublime simplicity with which the Gospels relate the story of the Incarnation, and Fonseca's pompous elaboration of the same story,[3] which he not only glosses with innumerable passages from the Fathers, but even garnishes with scraps from his favourite Ovid. A further contrast, and a fairer one, suggests itself when we find him quoting from Luis de León,[4] whose *Names of Christ*, a treatise upon a subject less susceptible of popular adaptation than the Gospel narrative, is so full of beauty, both of thought and language, that, even where its subject-matter is antiquated and its argument

[1] See p. 257, above.

[2] *Vida de Cristo Señor Nuestro*, Pt. i, chap. 12 (Bibl., No. 1685, fol. 121v.): "La mucha abundancia y variedad de las cosas, principalmente maravillosas y grandes, suelen hacer pobre al ingenio más rico. Porque llamándole todas igualmente, y convidándole con su grandeza y hermosura, le dejan tan indeterminable, y tan perplejo, que no sabe a cuál responder primero."

[3] Pt. i, chap. 12.

[4] *E.g.* pt. i, chap. 21 (*ed. cit.*, fol. 298r.).

ineffective, it is read still, with interest and delight, by many thousands.

Though Fonseca's *Life of Christ Our Lord* was reprinted less frequently than his *Treatise on the Love of God*, it had also a considerable popularity, and helped in the formation of that contemporary celebrity already mentioned. It would hardly be just not to allude, by way of contrast, to the judgment passed upon this Augustinian mystic by Menéndez y Pelayo,[1] the more so as it represents the modern critical standpoint more nearly than the eulogies of novelists and playwrights of the Golden Age. For us, Fonseca is certainly a more distinguished literary figure than Menéndez y Pelayo will allow, for, despite his faults as a writer, which are obvious enough, he compares favourably with scores, if not hundreds, of lesser religious writers whom one would have supposed the critic to have read. We cannot, however, fail to subscribe to Menéndez y Pelayo's criticisms of him as a mystic, which P. Monasterio, with commendable spirit but no great success, attempts to answer.[2]

St. François de Sales, remarks P. Monasterio, describes Fonseca as having written "many good things," and adds that "from the mystical standpoint his testimony and judgment are of more value to us than those of our illustrious critic."[3] Unfortunately, it is not sufficient to have written "many good things"[4] in order to win merit as a mystical author, and St. François de Sales says no more of him than what

[1] ". . . El famoso *Tratado del Amor de Dios* . . . libro de verdadera decadencia, farragoso y pedantesco, y tal que sólo debe la reputación que disfruta, entre los que no le han leído, a la casualidad de haberle citado Cervantes en el prólogo del *Quijote*. . . . La sombra del gran novelador ha protegido a Fonseca, que es, sin duda (para hablar claro) uno de los menos originales y de los más pesados místicos españoles. Sólo a título de compilador, aunque desaliñado y sin arte, puede tener su valor, y esto para quien no conozca los originales que saqueó a manos llenas" (*Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. iii, Madrid, 1896, pp. 149–50).

[2] *Místicos agustinos españoles* (Madrid, 1929), vol. i, pp. 317–20.

[3] *Ibid.* (p. 318).

[4] *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu.* Preface: "Christophe de Fonseca, Religieux Augustin, en a mis en lumière un [traité] encore plus grand [que celui de Stella] où il dit diverses belles choses."

has been quoted, while, as is well known, he writes with equal enthusiasm, or even more, of other minor Spanish mystics.[1] Menéndez y Pelayo's criticisms of his pedantry and lack of originality cannot possibly be controverted even by those who consider him too severe on Fonseca as a literary artist. What he gives us is in great part confessedly derivative. He writes, for the mystic, of ecstasy, inebriation, transformation, union, and the like, but academically, artificially—much as he writes of a hundred other subjects for the "discreet though not over-devout Christian."[2]

As a mystic, then, he takes a very low place. Sr. Sainz Rodríguez, in part following Menéndez y Pelayo, goes so far as to say that his *Treatise on the Love of God* marks the decadence of Augustinian mysticism,[3] and there is at least some justification for this view. Fonseca does not tread the schematic path followed by the majority of Spanish mystics of the seventeenth-century decadence who substituted systematization for inspiration and experience. But he has other marks of decline, and this at an epoch when Spanish mysticism has hardly passed its zenith. His work is in no way steadily directed towards the mystic's aim, and nowhere fired, by the mystic's sole and overpowering inspiration, into mystical eloquence. Historically, he is of interest as illustrating the interactions in Spain of Platonism and mysticism. Intrinsically, he cannot entirely be passed over since he occasionally touches mystical subjects. But although of necessity he will take his place in any

[1] E.g. *op. cit.*, Preface: "Le père Louis de Grenade, ce grand docteur de piété, a mis un traité de l'amour de Dieu dans son Memorial, qu'il suffit de dire être d'un si bon auteur pour le rendre recommendable. Diegue Stella, de l'Ordre de Saint François, en a fait un autre grandement effectif et utile pour l'oraison. . . . Le Père Jean de Jésus-Maria, de l'Ordre des Carmes déchaussés, a composé un livret qui porte de même le nom de l'art d'aimer Dieu, lequel est fort estimé." There then follows a eulogy of St. Teresa which deserves to be better known. *Cf.* also *Introduction à la vie dévote*, pt. ii, chap. 17, which recommends the reading of Granada, Estella, Arias, Ávila and La Puente among other mystics.

[2] *Vida de Cristo*, pt. i, chap. 19 (*ed. cit.*, fol. 251v.).

[3] *Introducción a la historia de la literatura mística en España* (Madrid, 1927), p. 233. He wrongly dates the book 1608, instead of 1592, presumably because it is the (somewhat faulty) edition of the later year that Menéndez y Pelayo uses.

history of Spanish mysticism that is reasonably comprehensive, his place will, equally of necessity, be a very modest one.

IV

Very different from the Augustinian Cristóbal de Fonseca is the Augustinian Pedro Malón de Chaide. Both, it is true, like their fellow-Augustinian Orozco, are Platonists, but in almost every other respect their writings are strongly contrasted. Fonseca wrote many books, at great length, with much erudition, a notable absence of poetry and small attention to style. Of Malón de Chaide's works only one book has come down to us—a book of moderate length, seldom erudite, full of poetry and abounding in purple passages which reveal the born artist in prose. These contrasts the casual reader would sum up by saying that the one author is without interest for him while the other is intensely attractive: the antithesis is not without significance. But from our standpoint a far more important antithesis is represented by the attitude of these two authors to mysticism. Fonseca writes of it frequently, yet we neither feel nor believe him to be a mystic at heart. Malón de Chaide writes of it, in set terms, but little, yet we feel that he thinks of it much.

Pedro Malón de Chaide was born at Cascante—probably the Cascante in Navarre—rather before the middle of the sixteenth century, our first known fact concerning him being that he professed in the Augustinian convent of Salamanca on October 27, 1557. After studying for some years, under Luis de León among others, at Salamanca University, he was transferred to Burgos, where he entered the Augustinian convent as a lecturer in theology. Again, save for a mention of his presence at a Castilian chapter in 1572, we hear no more of him until 1575, when he has left the province of Castile for that of Aragon, and become prior of the convent of Zaragoza. This office he held until 1577, after which a number of hardly reconcilable statements are made about

him, most of them being difficult to trace back to documentary evidence. The most commonly asserted biographical fact is that Malón de Chaide held teaching posts at the Universities of Huesca and Zaragoza, but at the dates (1573, 1582, 1588) at which he seems to have been at one or other of these places he is also said, with no less probability, to have been elsewhere. In 1582, however, when he was made a Master in his order, he was certainly teaching in some university. In the next year, when he was Definitor of his province, he is said to have been elected to a Chair at Zaragoza [1] ; and again, in 1586, another authority makes him become Prior at Barcelona. P. Gregorio de Santiago Vela, who has studied the chronology of Malón de Chaide's life more closely than any other modern critic, is inclined to believe that he held professorships,[2] first at Huesca, and than at Zaragoza, leaving academic work when called to Barcelona, perhaps on account of his health, which teaching and study had not improved.[3] At Barcelona, he threw himself with striking energy into the work of the cloister, and at Barcelona he died, while still in the prime of life, on September 1, 1589.

Before entering upon his work at Barcelona, Malón de Chaide had already written the book by which he is now known, *The Conversion of the Magdalen*. Did he write no further books, it may be asked, besides this masterpiece ? " My natural inclination," he said of himself, " is to read and study." [4] Does that imply that he had no particular love for writing ? It may be so. Yet it is hard to believe that a book composed with such obvious marks of loving care, even though it " slept many years " in the author's desk as " a thing worthy of

[1] *Cf.* Ricardo del Arco (*art. cit.*, Bibl., No. 1743), who quotes documentary evidence.

[2] *Cf.* dedicatory letter to the *Conversión de la Magdalena* (abbreviated *C.M.*, below), ed. B.A.E., 1853 (Bibl., No. 1738), p. 276 : " . . . después de mis estudios acabados y habiendo tenido por tiempo de algunos años tan continuos ejercicios, así de lectura de la Sagrada Escritura en diversas universidades, como de sermones en muchos púlpitos. . . ."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 276 : " Si no hubiera yo de contar con mi salud tan quebrada y corta, que me fuerza a aflojar el rigor del estudio. . . ."

[4] *Ibid.*

oblivion," and was published only because a superior chanced to read it,[1] remained the sole work of one who was so well qualified to follow it up with others.[2] If this were so, the reason must have been that it was published only a year before its author's death and that therefore he never witnessed its popularity. About fourteen editions of it were published in sixteen years; after this, so far as we can discover, no further edition appeared for one hundred and forty.

It has been suggested, however, that the *Conversion of the Magdalen* was not Malón de Chaide's sole work. At least three more may be assigned to him, entirely upon his own testimony. The first, a "treatise on Saint Peter and Saint John," we know him to have written, for he tells us that he had intended to publish it in one volume with his book on St. Mary Magdalen, and only the great bulk of such a joint volume deterred him from doing so.[3] The second treatise, which its author was prevented by death from publishing subsequently, has always been regarded as no longer extant. P. Santiago Vela, however, suggested recently that a collection of sermons published at Barcelona in 1598 by an Augustinian named Fray Jerónimo de Saona,[4] Malón de Chaide's immediate successor at Barcelona as Prior, represents a revised form of this book, which has a defence of the vernacular, and poems, paraphrases of psalms and the like intercalated in the text. No mention is made of

[1] *C.M.*, Prólogo, p. 280.

[2] P. Santiago Vela (*op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 97), deduces from the reference in bk. iv of *C.M.* to "nuestro bravo y cortés español S. Laurencio, en cuya vigilia y en cuya ciudad yo escribo ahora estas palabras," that the book was written in Huesca—a somewhat hazardous deduction if it refers to the entire work, and not merely to a part of it.

[3] *C.M.*, Prólogo (*ed. cit.*, p. 282): ". . . tuve intento de imprimir, junto con éste, otro que tengo hecho de San Pedro y San Juan, que creo que, aunque es menor, no es menos dulce. . . . He habido de dejar el Tratado de San Pedro por no hacer este libro de demasiado volumen, que lo fuera con aquél, poniéndolo todo junto."

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. v, pp. 104–5. The book is: "Discursos predicables, literales y morales de la Sagrada Escritura y cuestiones positivas y escolásticas, sobre cuál fué más amado del Señor, San Pedro o San Juan Evangelista, etc. Por el P.M. Fr. Jerónimo de Saona, Religioso agustino, etc., Barcelona, 1598." A copy of this work is to be found at the Colegio de Agustinos Filipinos, Valladolid.

Malón de Chaide, but these and other characteristics are very much in his manner.

Elsewhere in the *Conversion of the Magdalen* its author refers to a "treatise on all the saints" which he has written,[1] and which P. Santiago Vela conjectures (less credibly, as he himself admits) to be represented by P. Saona's *Earthly and Heavenly Hierarchy*.[2] This also is written in a style approximating to that of the books already mentioned, and treats not only of the Apostles and other saints, but also of confessors, martyrs, virgins, and a long line of witnesses to the faith of Christianity. But this book, unlike the earlier one, is described as being definitely the work of P. Saona ; the farthest one can go, therefore, is to suggest that it is based on a very incomplete manuscript left by P. Malón de Chaide, and was entirely rewritten before publication.

To another work, called a *Treatise on the Most Holy Sacrament*, Malón de Chaide refers as being still in course of composition.[3] Of this work nothing at all is known ; it may even never have been completed.

V

The *Conversion of the Magdalen* is defined by its author in his opening paragraph as "this treatise or sermon."[4] Too long by far for a sermon, and too obviously intended for a popular audience to fall into its place as a treatise, the book may best be described as a pleasant exposition of a passage of Scripture with a strong literary flavour. Malón de Chaide himself points out that it follows the rules of no *genre* recognized in religious literature, and, in a graceful apology for not "explaining

[1] *C.M.*, §§ viii, xxi, xxxix (*ed. cit.*, pp. 308, 329, 365). The references are of no importance and tell us about the book only that "it will come out after this one."

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 105 ("Jerarquía celestial y terrena y símbolo de los nueve estados de la Iglesia militante" : Barcelona, 1598).

[3] *C.M.*, § xlix (*ed. cit.*, p. 389) : "El amor consiste en el deseo y también en la posesión, como diremos en el Tratado del Santísimo Sacramento, con el favor divino."

[4] *C.M.* (*ed. cit.*, p. 283).

each word of the Gospel and pointing out its particular mysteries," emphasizes the appropriateness of such treatment in writing of a saint who herself was so strikingly individual.[1] This is not to say, however, that there is no order in the book, which, on the contrary, is clearly divided into three parts. The first of these describes the Magdalen in her sins, the second in her penitence, and the third in a state of grace. The exposition follows the order of the Gospel for the feast of St. Mary Magdalen (St. Luke vii. 36–50), and, apart from digressions which, though numerous, are neither unduly long nor in other ways inartistic, keeps to its theme until the narrative is ended.

Far from being a book intended for contemplatives, the *Conversion of the Magdalen* was not even written for religious or for the clergy, but " to be put into the hands of the vulgar," and thus to counteract the harm being done to Christian morals by books current on profane subjects. " Seeing that the world has lost all taste for holy things and for virtue," wrote Malón de Chaide, our writers are " inciting it to savour sin, and feeding it with literature that is profane and lascivious." [2]

> For what else are these books about love, the *Dianas*, the Boscáns and the Garcilasos ; the monstrous volumes and collections of fabulous stories and falsehoods, the Amadises, the Florizels, the Don Belianises, and a host of similar dreadfuls as are now being written and put into the hands of the young—what are these, I say, but as knives put into the possession of madmen ? . . .
>
> What of the little girl who can hardly walk, and yet has a *Diana* in her pocket ? . . . How can a damsel repeat the Paternoster in her book of hours when she has just finished burying Pyramus and Thisbe in *Diana* ? How can she recollect her spirit to think for a moment of God when she has been thinking for so many moments of Garcilaso ? . . . . The *Songs* which were made by Solomon are more honest reading than any *Dianas*. The Holy Spirit composed them ; the wisest of men wrote them ; all their argument is between bride and bridegroom ; and all that is in them is chaste, pure, holy, divine, celestial and full of mysteries.[3]

[1] *C.M.* (*ed. cit.*, p. 283).
[2] *C.M.*, Prólogo (*ed. cit.*, p. 279).
[3] *Ibid.*

These lines are but the briefest extract from a lengthy discourse revealing a position long since abandoned even by the most religiously-minded, but interesting both historically and in connexion with the aim and the style of this treatise. Having expounded the reasons for which he has written a book calculated to attract as well as to instruct, Malón de Chaide proceeds to excuse himself for having written it in Spanish, and enters upon a defence of the vernacular which may profitably be compared with those made by other of the Spanish mystics whose work we have studied.[1] Beginning quietly, almost conversationally, he rises before long to a point at which indignation lends him eloquence :

> To those who say that there is little authority for writing of grave matters in our vulgar tongue, I reply : Was the law of God a grave matter ? The sacred Scripture which He revealed and delivered to His people, wherein He did enfold so many sovereign mysteries and sacraments, and set all the treasure of the prophecies of our redemption, of His incarnation, life, preaching, doctrine, miracles and death, and that which His Majesty did and suffered for us : with respect to all this and to the rest that was written together with it, I ask such persons in what language did God convey it, and in what words did Moses and the prophets write it ? Of a certainty, in the mother tongue of cobbler, of tailor, of weaver, of tiller of the soil, of shepherd, and of all the common people. . . . Then if mysteries so lofty, and secrets so divine, were written in that vulgar tongue which at that time was spoken by all God's people, wherefore do these detractors of our mother tongue desire us to seek strange languages that we may set down therein the excellent and curious things known by learned men ? [2]

In answer to his own question, Malón de Chaide passes from defence to attack, and from apology to eulogy :

> So then it seems to such persons that to write and make known in our own tongue that which is good shows a lack of gravity.

[1] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 301–3, and pp. 196, 257, above. It is attractive, but unsafe, to speculate upon the possible influence on Malón de Chaide in this respect, not only of Luis de León's *Nombres de Cristo*, but also of Luis de León himself. He refers to this book and its prologue, and criticizes the book in words which still have interest (*C.M.*, Prólogo (*ed. cit.*, p. 280)).

[2] *C.M.*, Prólogo (*ed. cit.*, p. 281).

They would rather that another tongue were spoken barbarously, with countless improprieties and solecisms and errors of grammar, than that their own were used with propriety and purity. They would have foreigners who behold our foolishness laugh at us, mock us and scorn us. . . .

What? Is our language so coarse and vile that it can only serve as matter for mockery? To say this is to insult the whole nation and people of Spain. For there is no language, nor has there been one ever, which in wealth of vocabulary or in grace of style surpasses our own; which is softer, sweeter, tenderer, or more delightful; more apt to express our thoughts, richer in elegant and pleasing terms and phrases, fuller of graceful ornament and rhetorical colour, if those that use it will but show sufficient curiosity with respect to it.[1]

This language in which he so much delighted, few in his own day could handle more skilfully than he. Frequently, it is true, he fails to reach a high standard of academic correctness. His sentences, when analyzed, are sometimes found to be heavy and ill-balanced; his synonyms by no means always bear examination; his argument may even be obscured by his language. But all these are faults discovered by the careful student rather than remarked upon at once by the listener or the average reader; their author, who apologizes for the "rudeness" of his style,[2] would have been the first to admit them. They can hardly be said to affect the appeal of his work to the public for which it was intended, nor to have more than a secondary importance, even considered intrinsically, when placed beside the book's literary merits.

Wiser than many of his contemporaries in religious literature, Malón de Chaide has learned the art of subordinating his authorities to himself, of suppressing quotation in favour of narrative and argument. His sources are fairly numerous, including Ovid, Plato, Aristotle and Virgil, as well as the Fathers, Plotinus and the pseudo-Dionysius. Yet, with one exception, we hardly notice them, the exception being the Bible, that "true

[1] *C.M.*, Prólogo (*ed. cit.*, p. 282).

[2] *C.M.* (*ed. cit.*, p. 410). *Cf.* Prólogo (p. 276) and the opening words of he fourth part (p. 387) of treatise.

fount whence spring all the delightful and all the sovereign things that we can say concerning love." [1] The same observation may be made on the whole body of Malón de Chaide's allusions. They are frequent, and by no means uniformly appropriate to the theme which they illustrate, but, unlike his more original illustrations, they are always kept in their proper place, and never developed till they become no longer allusions but digressions.

The numerous passages of the book which take up political and social themes, arising indirectly from the argument, no doubt helped to commend it to the *Diana* readers and to send it along the road to popularity. Hardly less forcibly than Estella in his Latin commentary on St. Luke's Gospel, Malón de Chaide rebukes the social sins of his day, which in these respects differed little from our own. Over-adornment in dress and jewels [2] and the evil results of heresy [3] are his two favourite themes. In his treatment of one of them we shall find an illustration of several of the artistic qualities which give his book its literary value. The Magdalen, now penitent, is reflecting, before an imaginary companion, on the propriety of entering Simon's house during the feast and seeking Jesus :

" But if I am His meat, at what more fitting time can I go than when He is at table ? I would reach Him ere He rises from the feast ; for the dish arrives out of season when the covers have been removed." " But seest thou not, Magdalen, that He is in the house of the scornful Pharisee, who prides himself on his devoutness, and will murmur at thy penitence ? " " Ah, I see myself, and am shamed by none. My God and the angels see me : what matters it to me that men see me also ? Already they know me for an enemy of God and a sinner ; let them know me now for a mourner and a penitent." " But at least, if thou goest, wilt thou not go as a rich and noble maiden ? Dress that hair, confine it with a fillet of rich gold, entwine it with eastern pearls, make for thyself ear-rings with two fine emeralds. Wear a golden necklace of finely-wrought enamel, place a rope of pearls six times round thy neck, with an eagle, of sovereign

[1] *C.M.*, Introduction to part iv (*ed. cit.*, p. 387).
[2] *C.M.* (*ed. cit.*, pp. 307–8). [3] *Ibid.* (pp. 302, 316).

workmanship, depending from it, and bearing in its talons a resplendent diamond that shall fall upon thy breast. Wear a gown of brocaded satin with ornaments of gold, a satin and lace dress which shall be resplendent at a hundred paces' distance, much lace with pearls and precious stones, a girdle without price, and a smelling-bottle of ambergris which is fragrant afar off. Don more rings than thou hast fingers; make thyself a jeweller's counter for the number of thy trinkets." For thus do women of our day deck themselves when they go to hear Mass, with more colours on their faces than in the rainbow, and thus they go to adore Him who was spat upon, scourged, stripped, crowned with thorns and nailed to a cross, Jesus Christ, the only Son of God.

Do such as these hold themselves Christians? Ah, how deceptive is this elegance, grace and beauty! "Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised." Ah, unhappy is our age, perdition and punishment shall come upon the name of Christian. Who has seen such great misfortune as that which comes to pass in our commonwealths? Enter our churches and sacred temples. You will see the altar-pieces depicting the stories of the saints. On one side you will see the picture of Saint Laurence, bound and stretched upon a gridiron. . . . On another panel you will see the picture of Saint Bartholomew, stripped and bound and stretched upon a table where they are flaying him alive. On another side is the stoning of Saint Stephen. . . . Elsewhere you will see Saint Peter hanging from a cross, Saint John Baptist beheaded, and the deaths of many other saints; and finally, above all, the Christ on the Cross, all naked, covered with blood, His Body cut with the scourges, His Face swollen, His Eyes lifeless, His Mouth blackened, His Side pierced,—a very picture of death.

Tell me, then, Christians, why are such figures painted above our altars? Why do they not show us Christ in His glory, seated above the heads of the angels, and the saints in their splendour, full of joy? Why do they present them to us dying and suffering great trials? I think it is that we may understand how by the torments which they suffered upon earth they attain to the glory of the heavens, and how we must follow them in their trials if we would be partakers of their rest.[1]

Both this passage, and a score besides, illustrate Malón de Chaide's strongly dramatic instinct, which appears to lead him into dialogue almost without his

[1] *C.M.*, § xxx (*ed. cit.*, pp. 342–3).

realizing it. They offer excellent examples of the pictorial effect at which he seems continually to be aiming and the exuberance of colour with which his canvases glow.[1] Finally, they give some idea of another equally attractive gift—a facility for passing, quite naturally, from one style to another : from quiet reflection or vivid description to outbursts of indignant eloquence ; from eulogy to satire; from the didactic to the dramatic; from preaching to prayer.

These brief notes on Malón de Chaide's prose—for they are no more than the briefest notes upon a subject which requires a chapter to do it justice—may be followed by a few words upon his position as a writer of verse. It is evident that he thoroughly enjoyed making verse paraphrases, whether of Ovid or the Psalms of David, and composing sonnets and *liras*—in the manner of the Boscán and Garcilaso whose influence he felt to be so deleterious to Christian morals. His aim, according to himself, in making these intercalations, was to relieve the monotony of so much prose.[2] Sometimes he does no more than assign the verses to " someone " [3] ; at other times, he himself claims their authorship, or allows us to assume it. But we can hardly doubt that he himself is the author of all of them, or that he writes them—especially the unnecessarily long ones—mainly to give himself pleasure. They are not as a rule specimens of great poetry : like St. Teresa, Malón de Chaide was most truly a poet when he wrote prose. But there are a few of them which are not wholly unworthy of a place in Spanish literature, and if these are not equal to St. John of the Cross at his best, they are at least better than his worst attempts at verse-writing, and equal to most of the poems of St. Teresa.

[1] This was the quality in Malón de Chaide's book which Menéndez y Pelayo associated particularly with his genius :

" . . . libro el más brillante, compuesto y arreado, el más alegre y pintoresco de nuestra literatura devota ; libro que es todo colores vivos y pompas orientales, halago perdurable para los ojos " (*Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. iii, Madrid, 1896, p. 139).

[2] *C.M.*, Prólogo (*ed. cit.*, p. 277).

[3] *E.g.* § xxv (*ed. cit.*, p. 334).

VI

The mysticism of the *Conversion of the Magdalen* is latent in its theme. "She loved much." Love is the business of the entire work, from the beginning of the first paragraph, which describes love as the fount of all good and God as the goal of the love of man, to the end of the last paragraph which pictures the soul's final union with the Beloved. We feel that the author never entirely loses sight of this, his central subject. He rebukes us—for sins which we only commit because we have not loved God enough. He exhorts us to strive after virtues—which we shall only be moved to do by love for God. He is interested in the subject of love as a metaphysician, and he has read, perhaps deeply, in Plato and Plotinus. But he is writing not for Platonists, but for the people, and any critic who extracts a few philosophical passages from his book and alludes to little else in it than the implications of these is entirely missing its purpose, and losing the spirit in which it was written.

The purpose of the *Conversion of the Magdalen* is to set the creature in a certain attitude to the Creator—to lead the soul through the Purgative Way into a state of Illumination—to enkindle the will to desire God and prepare it to enjoy Him. All these aims will be found to be clearly expressed in the first paragraph, and it is unnecessary to say that they are identical with the aims of the mystic.

> Since without Him there can be no happiness, God determined to make Himself the aim of all the creatures.
>
> The will is the unitive faculty,—that is to say, it makes the lover one with the beloved as the understanding cannot do. Through the work of the will the soul issues from itself, passes to the object of its love, and, leaving its own being, takes that of the beloved.[1]

Phrases like these, which abound, are setting what should be the ideal common to actives and contemplatives before every reader of the book, predisposing to contemplation those who are capable of such predisposition and encouraging others to live the spirit of the mystical life, though they may not be able to follow it literally.

In the passages just quoted this ideal is stated in the

[1] *C.M.*, § i (*ed. cit.*, pp. 283–4).

most general terms possible, but elsewhere it is defined more exactly. Desire for the fruition of God grows with experience of it, in however small measure.[1] The greater the measure in which the ideal is realized, the farther the soul moves from itself : " I die to myself because I no longer love myself, and my soul is with the object of its love, even God, and lives in Him." [2] The transformation of lover into Beloved is not sudden and eventual: rather it is gradual, continual and ever-increasing.[3]

> Since love draws the will after it, and she, being mistress of the other faculties, draws them with her likewise, it follows that the beloved becomes lord over the lover, and the lover is transformed into the beloved.[4]
>
> Let us love the Lord with all our hearts, with all our strength, both of soul and body, with all our powers, both outward and inward, and with all that we are, so that we may be changed into Him wholly, and that there may be no part in us that is not ennobled.[5]

This ideal, presented from the beginning of the book, gradually defined and developed, insisted on throughout, yet never passing far beyond the ken of the everyday reader, is then the central theme of the *Conversion of the Magdalen*. It would be elaborating the obvious to show how admirable a subject for such a book is the " woman in the city which was a sinner " of St. Luke's Gospel, and how Malón de Chaide's theme becomes personal and living as the story of the penitent sinner is unfolded. It is not his task to describe, in the mystical sense, the realization of the ideal, but rather to embody it in the experiences of a person and give it reality in the reader's mind. There are those who will best apprehend the idea of union as expressed in a few cogent lines such as the brief extracts we have quoted. There are others who can only apprehend it in a form more concrete, and for these Malón de Chaide has passages, perhaps somewhat florid, but at least effective, in their imagery and colour, such as that which depicts the imaginary retirement of the Magdalen into a solitary place, and her vision of that Heaven which to the mystics it has been given to inhabit in some measure while still on earth :

[1] *C.M.*, § xlix (*ed. cit.*, p. 389). [2] *C.M.*, Sermón (*ed. cit.*, p. 417).
[3] *C.M.*, § i (*ed. cit.*, p. 287). [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* (p. 288).

Then Mary, although she was forgiven, determined after the Ascension of the Lord into Heaven to withdraw into a desert place, where she might be alone and enjoy the contemplation of her Beloved. Ah, what sweet moments she would spend in that rugged land, among those crags! Carried away in spirit, as though she were already a citizen of Heaven and had thrown off that mortal vesture in which she was clothed, she quitted the earth, and rose unfettered to the home of her Beloved. . . .

O life that art life indeed! O glory that art glory alone! O royal city, whose citizens have great delight! None know the meaning of pain or sickness. Death comes not to thee, for all is life. No pain is there, for all is delight; no sickness, for God is their health indeed. Blessed city, whose laws are of love, whose citizens are ruled by love, in which all love, whose office is love, where they know naught but to love! One wish have they, one will, one counsel. They love one thing, desire one thing, contemplate one thing, and are united with one thing: yea, that one thing,—that is the one thing needful.[1]

Our belief is that it is inconsistent with Malón de Chaide's intentions and achievements to class his book as mystical in any other sense than that in which we have interpreted it. "Let us follow the affection of this woman," are the words which he would leave with his readers. "Let us seek Jesus with pure faith, and . . . doubt not but that He will reveal Himself to us."[2] It is open to anyone to object that a book written with the aim of leading multitudes, and not individuals, to some degree of union with God rather than to full union in the mystical sense is not mystical. But to our own mind the comparison and contrast between two men like Fonseca and Malón de Chaide as mystical writers puts the matter beyond doubt. The one discusses ecstasy, rapture, union, transformation and other mystical themes in more or less mystical language—but with the intellect. The other, in simple or popular phraseology, treats of the love of God without refinements of any kind whatsoever—but from the heart. And, as we have already said, in Malón de Chaide's own words, the heart "makes the lover one with the Beloved, and this the understanding cannot do."

[1] *C.M.*, § lxii (*ed. cit.*, pp. 404–5). [2] *C.M.*, Sermón (*ed. cit.*, p. 416).

CHAPTER X

POST-TERESAN MYSTICISM: TOMÁS DE JESÚS

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I

Of the Carmelite mystics in Spain who may be considered as belonging fairly to the post-Teresan period, the most interesting from every point of view is Tomás de Jesús.[1] As striking a personality as Jerónimo Gracián, with much of that unhappy monk's precocity and no less talent, he contrived to live a life which was both happy and useful, and in most of his undertakings achieved a considerable measure of success. In the history of Spanish mysticism he holds quite a distinctive place within the period to which he belongs, and, though this period may well be considered one of decline, it still preserves much individuality and merit.

The exact date of the birth of Diego Sánchez Dávila, in religion Tomás de Jesús, is uncertain, different authorities putting it at 1564 and 1568 respectively. A native of Baeza, he studied at the college founded in that city by Juan de Ávila, but travelled northward while still quite young and entered the University of Salamanca. Here he took a double doctor's degree in law and a doctorate also in theology. Even if we assign the earlier date to his birth we find that he came quickly to maturity of intellect, for his university studies were completed by 1586, when, with a fellow-student known in Carmelite history as Francisco de Santa María, he took the habit of the Discalced at Valladolid.

Professing on April 5, 1587, he became in turn lector in Dogmatic and Mystical Theology at the Teresan colleges of Alcalá and Seville, but forsook academic work in 1594, when he was appointed Prior of a convent

[1] It is important to distinguish between Tomás de Jesús, the Spanish Carmelite, who is the subject of this chapter, and the similarly named Portuguese Augustinian, Thomé de Jesús, known chiefly for his work *Os Trabalhos de Jesús*.

recently founded at Zaragoza. This office he held for three years. From 1597 to 1600 he was Provincial of Old Castile and in the latter year became Definitor-General of the Spanish Congregation.

Some time before this, Tomás de Jesús had become known in Spain for his interest in the hermitical life, which had attracted him when he was still engaged in teaching. His first important attempt to further this manner of life among the Discalced Carmelites was made in 1592, when he founded at Bolarque, on the Tagus, in New Castile, a convent intended for solitaries, with special arrangements by which they lived either in cells within the precincts, or in hermitages without. This type of religious house, sometimes called a " desert convent," it is convenient to designate by its Spanish title of Desierto.[1]

The foundation of Bolarque was followed in 1599 by that of Las Batuecas, in the wild and barren district of Las Hurdes. This convent was particularly dear to Fray Tomás, as being placed in a region of great desolation and thus embodying with peculiar perfection an ideal which in the future he was to do much more to further. Saying the first Mass in its chapel in 1599, he returned to it with frequency, and from 1604 to 1607 was its Prior. In 1607 he returned to Zaragoza as Prior, but had not been many months there when an event occurred which altered the whole course of his history.

Nothing is more characteristic of Fray Tomás de Jesús than the way in which he could throw himself into one kind of activity after another, and always, so far as can be judged, to great effect. He won the highest successes as a student ; became a teacher when still almost a boy ; held one office after another while laying (as we shall see) the foundations of great literary activity. During this time he was working out practical problems connected with the life of the hermit ; yet, as it now appears, he was also meditating a career of quite an opposite nature, and interesting himself in the work of foreign missions.

[1] For a description of the Desierto, cf. *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. iii, *sub.* " Carmelites."

It is asserted by some writers that Tomás de Jesús was, at the beginning of his ministry, of the opinion of Nicolás de Jesús María, and strongly opposed to the extension of the Discalced Reform to the mission field. Whether or no this be true and he changed his attitude through a Divine revelation received at Las Batuecas, it is certain that he had for some time been denied leave by his superiors to become a missionary when he received the invitation to go to the Congo as Papal ambassador to the King.

In 1607, then, Tomás de Jesús travelled to Rome at the command of the Pope, Paul V. His superiors of the Spanish congregation, somewhat resenting this apparent disregard of their prohibitions, complained to Rome, and learned for the first time, in reply, that the Pope had been personally interested in their young colleague and had, indeed, directly sent for him.[1] The proposed embassy to the Congo did not, in fact, materialize, the King of Spain intervening from political motives and Dominican missionaries being sent instead.[2] Fray Tomás, however, having gained the interest of the Pope, remained in Rome. And here, either alone, or in collaboration with members of the Italian Congregation, he began to work out a project of far greater significance than that which had originally been prepared for him—nothing less than the foundation of a third Congregation of the Discalced, to be devoted wholly to missions.

This plan, which was in some respects an anticipation of the Congregation of Propaganda to be founded in Rome a few years later, was approved very quickly by Paul V in a bull *Onus Pastoralis Officii*, dated July 22, 1608. This bull allowed Discalced Carmelites from either the Spanish or the Italian Congregation to join the new Congregation without first asking permission of their superiors ; they would be required, however, to

[1] The hitherto unpublished documentary testimony which clears up this disputed question will be found in P. Florencio del Niño Jesús (Bibl., No. 1812), pp. 40–2.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 42–4.

take two additional vows—one, to go to whatever mission was indicated to them, and another, to refrain from seeking, either directly or indirectly, for themselves or for others, any dignity or office whatsoever, either within the Order or without it. The Congregation was placed by the Pope directly beneath his own personal jurisdiction, and Tomás de Jesús was appointed its Commissary General.

In the form in which it was created, the Congregation had by no means a successful history. A house was acquired as headquarters where its business was to be transacted, and where its members were, when necessary, to be given preliminary training. But both of the existing congregations represented to the Pope that the new foundation would be a source of very many practical difficulties, if its establishment were made effective. As a result of various conferences, it was determined that the Italian Congregation should take upon itself the missionary enterprises of the Order. Nothing daunted by his apparent failure, which was in reality a victory for the missionary principle, Fray Tomás joined the Italian Congregation, added to his own vows the two which he had intended to impose upon his fellow-missionaries, and prepared to watch and to further the development of the ideals which he had at heart in whatever form they might find their ultimate expression.

Paul V, however, was anxious to use Fray Tomás, of whom he held the highest opinion possible, in some more important office than any to which he had yet been appointed.[1] Accordingly, when shortly afterwards the Flemish rulers asked the Pope to send them a number of Discalced Carmelites to help make an attack upon Protestant heresy, he determined to send sufficient of them to found a number of convents, and to make their leader Tomás de Jesús (October 17, 1609),

[1] In a brief to the Elector of Cologne, he calls him " virum sane in religione, doctrina atque charitatis zelo, animi alacritate, studio atque diligentia in procuranda Dei gloria atque proximi salute sibi valde commendatum " (Bibl., No. 1799, p. 15).

who would in due time become Superior of the Congregation which the new foundations would render necessary.

Ill-health prevented Fray Tomás from starting immediately, but when he did so, on April 24, 1610, he lost no time, travelling by way of Genoa and Avignon, where he picked up more companions, to Brussels. From this time onward we find him leading the busy life of a pioneer, emulating St. Teresa in the zeal with which he combined founding and visiting with writing. In the August of 1610 a convent of Discalced Carmelites was founded in Brussels ; in November 1611 a similar house was begun at Louvain ; and in 1612 Fray Tomás extended his activities to Germany, whither he travelled with letters from the Pope, making his first foundation in the year following.

It is now time that some allusion was made to the writings of Fray Tomás de Jesús, the majority of which were published during his residence in the Low Countries. His two earliest works date from 1599, and were published in Salamanca. One of these, the *Book of the Antiquity and of the Saints of the Order of Our Lady of Carmel*, is written in Spanish, for the purpose both of tracing the history of the Order from the earliest times and of carrying on a polemic against a friar who had been criticizing it. The other, a Latin commentary on the primitive rule of the Order, goes necessarily over much of the same ground, but diverges from the purely historical path at an early point in the Christian era, in order to devote ample space to its principal subject. He seems to have written nothing further until in 1610, as he left for Brussels, his *Summary and Compendium of the Degrees of Prayer* was published in Rome. This is his first mystical work, and all his other books of this type which we shall examine appeared between 1610 and 1623. Of the remainder, the Latin *Commentaria de statu monachorum* (Antwerp, 1617) and *De regularium visitatione liber* (Rome, 1625), a text-book for conventual visitors, are of no importance to our subject. The *Practice of Living Faith* (Brussels, 1617), on the other hand, is interesting

as being the fruit of the author's experience in the Low Countries. It consists principally of a constructive account of the Catholic doctrine of faith, and, being written in a country where Protestantism abounded, and the Bible, being well known, was commonly used in controversy, it is based almost entirely upon the Bible, with comparatively infrequent use of other authorities, even of the Fathers.

The two works, however, which are most nearly related to the life of Tomás de Jesús at the time of which we are writing, are the *Stimulus missionum* (Rome, 1610) and the *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, also known as *Thesaurus sapientiae divinae in gentium omnium salute procuranda* (Antwerp, 1613). The earlier of these books, dedicated to and inspired by Paul V, is nothing more than an introduction to the later one, for which its author had been gathering material for some years before he left for Flanders. Anxious to publish something on a subject which was so greatly absorbing him, and realizing that the active work projected for him by the Pope would interfere with his leisure for writing, he brought out his *Stimulus missionum* at the same time as his first mystical treatise in order to excite greater interest in missionary activities and to prepare the way for his larger work, *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*.

Three years sufficed him to complete this vast undertaking, and, as they were years of toil and travel, it is evident that the book, which has nearly a thousand quarto pages, must have been well under way when he published its introduction. It is described as a practical vade-mecum for the use of missionaries. Its first five sections (there are twelve in all) are concerned with the general aspect of the theme : the necessity and utility of missions ; the part which the rulers of the Church, and the religious orders, should play in their foundation ; the selection and training of missionaries ; the qualities, both moral and intellectual, required in them, and, in particular, their linguistic knowledge. These and similar considerations lead us to what may be called the second part of the book, extending from the sixth

section to the twelfth, and dealing with the evangelization of various classes of unbeliever : Greeks, Jews, Moslems, pagans, and heretics in general. A summary catechism, for the use of neophytes, terminates the volume.

The biographical interest of this work is principally connected with the history of the Congregation of Propaganda, instituted by Gregory XV in 1622, or nine years after its appearance. The first chapter of Tomás de Jesús' third section,[1] headed " De erigenda congregatione pro fide propaganda," puts the foundation of such a body in the forefront of his plans. The apparent fiasco suffered by the third Discalced Congregation was, as it now appears, even more fruitful than we have represented. The idea of organizing missionary work in one Order alone gave place to a wider and nobler idea of a central missionary organization at Rome. How far the plans set out in this section are the product of Fray Tomás' own imagination, and how far he is expounding in it the ideas of others, we cannot exactly determine. But it would be strange if the Congregation De Propaganda Fide of 1622 owed nothing to the chapter " De erigenda congregatione pro fide propaganda " of 1613, which visualizes the official appointment of a small group of eminent men, residing at Rome and meeting at fixed periods, not to decide purely administrative questions, but to study missionary method in its practical applications. Of no less interest is the third chapter of the same section,[2] on missionary seminaries, which, however, like the greater part of the volume, hardly concerns us.

As may be supposed, the brief residence of Tomás de Jesús in Rome had not qualified him to write with authority on as many religions as those discussed in his treatise, and he had not had the advantage of travelling either in the countries of the Orthodox or in those of Moslems. The dedicatory epistle to the smaller work, and the preface to the larger show, nevertheless, that he had undertaken a considerable amount of research in

[1] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 103–6. [2] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 110–16.

the Roman archives, and the various "replies" which were published to the larger work[1] did not seriously impair its credit.

Soon after its publication, Fray Tomás returned to Rome, but only in order to attend a Chapter General, returning to his post in the north in order to found more convents of his Order—in Cologne (1614), Douai (1615), Lille (1616), Liège (1617) and Antwerp (1618). After the Chapter General of 1617, the northern province which Paul V had had in mind was established, and Tomás de Jesús became its first Provincial. In 1618 he made the attempt of founding a Desierto in Flanders, in the forest of Marlaine, near Namur. It is interesting to find that he was still anxious to further the hermitical life. One of his latest books was a series of "spiritual instructions" for hermits, in which he not only leads them along the traditional three Ways, but shows, by the amazing wealth of detail contained in his instructions, how profound a knowledge he has of the hermit's peculiar difficulties, needs and temptations.

For some years more Fray Tomás continued his busy life until illness compelled him to temper it with an increase of leisure. The year 1621 saw the establishment of a second Discalced convent at Louvain, which was used as a missionary seminary. In 1622 he founded a convent at Namur and another in Franche Comté. In the next year he became Definitor General of the Province, an office which he held till 1626. His health, however, was by this time so far impaired that he returned to Rome, and retired to the convent of Santa Maria della Scala, to end his days there. He died on May 24, 1627, aged probably no more than sixty-three. The inscription placed by the Belgian Carmelites on the statue which they erected to his memory in Marlaine runs thus :

Virtute luxit—Doctrina lucet—Fama lucebit.
Corpus terra tegit—Spiritus aethera tenet.

[1] *Cf.* P. Florencio (Bibl., No. 1812), pp. 55–8.

II

When Fray Tomás' first published mystical work, the *Summary and Compendium of the Degrees of Prayer* (1610),[1] was being written, preparations were proceeding apace for St. Teresa's beatification, which took place in the year 1614. Editions of her collected works were in course of publication, not only in various parts of the Peninsula, but also in Italy and Belgium. Ribera's biography of her was twenty years old and known widely ; as the famous biography of Yepes did not appear till after the beatification, Ribera would have been the chief source of knowledge about her apart from her own writings. Translations of one or another of her works had already appeared in Latin, French, Flemish and Italian.[2] The generation which had known her in the flesh was rapidly passing away. Fray Juan de la Cruz had been dead these twenty years ; Fray Nicolás de Jesús María (Doria) had survived him by three years only ; Ana de San Bartolomé, the young companion of the Saint's last days, was a woman in the sixties ; while the Saint's young confessor Fray Jerónimo Gracián was spending the closing years of his troubled life in the Low Countries. It was well that some of the younger generation should concern themselves with the propagation of her teaching, and very natural that, in doing so, they should summarize and systematize it rather than reproduce it in its original form.

In writing the *Summary and Compendium*, Fray Tomás de Jesús aimed at " reducing to a brief summary all the doctrine that the holy mother Teresa de Jesús wrote in her books, and in other papers which have not been printed, in the matter of prayer and things of the spirit." [3] He prefaces this with a long list of testimonies, by " authors of gravity," to the enduring value of her works [4] and, with a statement of some significance, insisting " that the holy mother admitted no operation

[1] The edition here quoted is that of Valencia, 1623 (Bibl., No. 1772).
[2] Cf. *Obras de Santa Teresa*, Burgos, 1915–26 (vol. i, pp. ciii–cviii).
[3] *Ed. cit.* (Bibl., No. 1772), p. 53. [4] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 9–52.

of the will unaccompanied by knowledge of the understanding."[1] The fifteen chapters of the summary, which are followed by the Saint's *Maxims*, *Exclamations and Relations*, give a fair and straightforward account of her teaching, based, not on any one of her works, but on them all. They take the student through Recollection, Quiet, the Prayer of Union, to the "Prayer of Rapture" and the Spiritual Marriage. It may possibly be thought that the re-arrangement of St. Teresa's scheme of the Mystic Way into no less than fifteen "degrees" is both artificial and untrue to her own writings. It must be remembered, however, that the *Life* and the *Mansions* (without mentioning other of her works) are not always entirely consistent, and a synthesis of these two books alone must result in the making of more divisions than St. Teresa made in either one of them.[2]

Though published in one volume with the *Summary and Compendium*, the short *Treatise of Mental Prayer* appears to have been one of Tomás de Jesús' earliest works, if not, indeed, his first. He tells the reader, in a preface, that it was published some years before (presumably from modesty) under the name of an author who was dead; finding after its publication that it contained a number of errors, he has now owned his authorship and issued a corrected edition. Its title-page gives no indication that it is not an original production, based upon its author's experiences or meditations, and its final chapters rather suggest that it has, in fact, such a basis. But the preface describes the book as reproducing the teachings of the saints and of doctors and masters of mystical theology, which, though not containing many actual quotations, the greater part of the treatise certainly does. The *Treatise of Mental Prayer*, like the *Summary*, had considerable success, and is worth examination.

It aims, according to its title-page, at describing the three states "which are commonly called those of

[1] *Ed. cit.*, p. 44. *Cf.* pp. 305–6, below.
[2] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 151–91, *passim*.

beginners, proficients and adepts,"[1] and at "briefly explaining what is mental prayer, what are its parts and degrees, and what exercises are proper and convenient for those that treat of prayer, according to the state and progress of each one."[2] But the preface disclaims any intention of dealing with supernatural prayer ("wherewith God inspires whom He pleases"): the author is concerned with acquired prayer, "which everyone, with Divine favour, can and should have." Accordingly, his definition of mental prayer, in the first chapter, is wide, and he devotes five chapters to elementary instruction before passing on to describe the three Ways, his treatment of which, with its threefold division of each Way, is based on the *Mystical Theology* ascribed to St. Bonaventura.

Several points of interest emerge from the discussion on the three Ways. Having learned in the school of St. Teresa, Fray Tomás is opposed to the conception of any part of the mystical life as of a series of stages from one of which a soul may pass to another at will after a few weeks' exercise. Various doctors, he says, have laid down that three months is a good average of time to be spent in purgation. He cannot agree that it is possible to lay down any time whatsoever. Nor indeed "can the principal exercise of this Way, which is compunction, be abandoned even when a soul passes to the Illuminative Way. These two roads, the Purgative and the Illuminative, must be, as it were, one, and thus with greater security, though with less certainty of purgation, the soul will pass to the Way of Illumination."[3]

This stage "is the business, not of a day, but of years."[4] Fray Tomás compares its work to the wearing away of a heavy chain by the action of a small file or dropping water. If this description might seem more appropriate to the Purgative Way than to the Illuminative, equally, if not more so still, is his description of the goal of the latter as "purity of heart" and its progress as

[1] ". . . que comúnmente llaman de principiantes, aprovechados y perfectos."

[2] *Cf.* Bibl., No. 1772.

[3] Chap. vii (*ed. cit.*, p. 404).

[4] Chap. viii (*ed. cit.*, p. 407).

"the mortification and abnegation of the vices and passions and the acquisition of the virtues." [1] He falls into line with many mystical doctors, and with some of his pre-Teresan predecessors in Spain, in recommending as exercises for this Way "the consideration and imitation of the life of Christ our Redeemer and His Passion." [2]

The Unitive Life is conceived as a state "the *end* of which [*i.e.* not the entire state] is an intimate union and transformation in God, the means thereto being quick and enkindled desires to be joined in love and united with God." [3] The threefold division of this state must be reproduced, since it alone shows clearly what was the author's idea of the life of Union. Fray Tomás distinguishes, as in the other states, "three exercises." The first of these "is purity of heart," or, more strictly, the conservation of the purity to which the earlier exercises have led by the concentration of the soul upon God. The second "is the light or knowledge of God" which comes through the contemplation of His perfections and through a faith which leads to knowledge. The third is "negative contemplation, which is the manner taught by Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, and, after him, by all that have written on mystical theology." The expositions of "negative contemplation" and the "ray of darkness," which occupy a considerable space, are already familiar to us. "Some," adds Fray Tomás, "think that in this consists the whole of mystical theology, though in reality it is but its preamble." [4] He presumably means that in this *Treatise of Mental Prayer* he has not touched more than the fringe of the Unitive Life. He is, of course, perfectly correct, though not all his Spanish contemporaries would agree with him.

Fray Tomás sums up what he has written of the Unitive Life by adding that there are two ways to union with God: the intellectual ("contemplation of the Divine perfections and attributes") and the affective

[1] Chap. viii (*ed. cit.*, pp. 404–5).
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Chap. ix (*ed. cit.*, p. 413).
[4] *Ibid.* (pp. 413–19).

(" the practice of anagogical acts—that is, of aspirations and quick desires for union ").[1] He warns the aspirant against over-insistence on the latter kind of exercise, because of its debilitating physical effects, and its tendency to lead one away from the moral virtues, which are helpful to the attainment of union.[2]

Some further distinctions and classifications, on which we need not linger, end this book—a disappointing treatise to come from one who had lived so close to the writings, and even to the life, of St. Teresa. She might never have written, for all the use that he makes of her here. He takes us back to the days of García de Cisneros, and indeed his treatise is of less value than the *Book of Exercises*, because, while no more helpful for the higher stages of the mystical life, it is less helpful, because less detailed and less practical, for the lower.

We may pass over the *Practice of Living Faith* (1613), which has already been described, noting only that its description of the three Ways is similar to that of the *Treatise of Mental Prayer*. Purgation consists in " bewailing sins and chastising the flesh " ; illumination in " mortifying and uprooting passions and implanting virtues." The Unitive Way is defined with a slight, but probably not a very significant, variation, as that " in which the soul makes its daily exercise union and transformation in God." [3]

The Latin treatise *De Contemplatione Divina* (1620), which shows very strongly the influence of the Victorines, makes, like the *Treatise of Mental Prayer*, a ninefold division of the contemplative life, *i.e.* into three " hierarchies of supernatural light or contemplation," [4] to each of which is assigned three degrees. In the first hierarchy, " wherein the mind rises from the knowledge of sensible things to the contemplation of things invisible," meditations are made upon the creatures (though with great caution), upon the Scriptures in general and upon the life of Christ.[5] The second

[1] Chap. ix (*ed. cit.*, pp. 419–20). [2] *Ibid.* (pp. 421–3).
[3] Ed. 1858, pp. 243–50. [4] Bk. ii, chaps. 1–3. [5] Bk. iii, *passim*

hierarchy is that of contemplatives who rise . . . to the contemplation of things celestial and look upon God Himself, upon the One and upon the Three." [1] It is in the second and third of the divisions implied by this definition that the influence of the Victorines becomes paramount. The description of the last hierarchy is drawn rather from Dionysius : it is the supreme stage, " which is called mystical theology," and in which imageless contemplation alone finds a place. Its first degree is " the pure contemplation of God without the aid of imagination whatsoever." Its second is " the contemplation of God in the darkness " and the " quiet of the soul " which results therefrom. Its third is the " manifestation and vision of mystical theology, or, rather, of God Himself." [2] After this comes the description of a " supereminent degree of infused contemplation " which culminates in rapture.

The *Rules for examining and discerning a soul's interior progress* (1620), Tomás de Jesús' next production to be published, is another book written many years before its publication ; it was privately circulated, in manuscript, before its author decided to give it a more enduring form. He is greatly struck with the disparity between the large number of treatises which exist on the discernment of spirits, and the small number of souls whom such treatises can possibly benefit. By comparison with the latter, there are multitudes who need guidance along the ordinary roads of mental prayer, and the books which have been written for these are very few. In this book his aim is to help not " those led by the higher road of infused and supernatural prayer," but those who are living at lower levels. The largest part of the tiny duodecimo volume is accordingly addressed to confessors, and the remainder to their penitents.[3]

The first of the impressions left on the reader of these *Rules* is that they are much more practical than anything that Tomás de Jesús has yet written. As he

[1] Bk. iv, *passim*. At the end of this book is printed the *Libellus aureus* of Hugh of St. Victor.

[2] Bk. v, *passim*.

[3] Ed. 1620 (Bibl., No. 1767), Prólogo.

himself says, " the style in which they are written is brief." [1] Few words are wasted, and, though the argument at times appears to have a somewhat conventional and even artificial character, it must be remembered that we are now dealing with something in the nature of a text-book, in which little space can be given to individual experience.

The same general division of the contemplative life is made as in the *Treatise of Mental Prayer* : the following explanatory passage [2] is worth quoting, if only in order to show the emphasis which is given in it to the virtues :

> The soul exercises itself in the knowledge of God through the purging of its passions by means of practice of the virtues ; it progresses towards this end through imitating the virtues of Christ our Saviour, which is what the mystics call the illuminative life ; or if it continues to practise the virtues it becomes united with God by means of the affections and acts of love which the mystics [3] call the unitive way.

In a very few lines the author sketches the distinctions which confessors must make between natural prayer and supernatural.[4] It will be evident that the division made above and elaborated in his subsequent exposition refers to natural prayer. All three grades, indeed, are of a level below that of St. Teresa's fifth Mansions. His beginners are those who refrain from deadly sins and mortify the senses ; his progressives refrain from venial sins and strive to rise above pride and self-will ; his adepts shun all imperfections and refine the spiritual part of their nature, including the " inclinations of the spirit toward . . . visions,

[1] *Ed. cit.*, Dedicatoria.

[2] Bk. i, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 9). On pp. 61–2 will be found another description of the Three Ways, which is substantially that given above (pp. 290–2), the unitive life being that in which the soul " *trata de* unirse y transformarse en Dios por amor."

[3] The detached way in which Tomás de Jesús writes of " the mystics " will frequently be noticed in his works. It is characteristic of the later stages of Spanish mysticism and increases notably with the growth of preceptism.

[4] Bk. i, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, pp. 11–13). Here, in its beginnings, we find the plan of Tomás de Jesús' later volume (*cf.* pp. 297, ff. below).

revelations and other supernatural feelings." [1] There are souls, continues the "rule," who are *perfectísimos y santísimos*, having attained to "such great perfection and transformation in God that they appear to be living the life of angels. So completely have they conquered their passions that they seem rather to live in ignorance of them than to be striving to resist them." [2] They are not doing so in actual fact, he adds, for passions and the inclination to do evil always persist during this mortal life, though he has laid it down a few pages earlier that "there is hardly a passion that by Divine help, with prayer and by other means, cannot be conquered in a year." [3]

The author returns with some frequency to supernatural prayer for the purpose of illustrating his rules, warning confessors that though acquired and infused prayer are quite distinct in theory, infused prayer may be given to any soul from time to time, "like the dew which falls from heaven," and, conversely, that souls which normally enjoy supernatural prayer may be forced to labour through the failure of their inspiration.[4]

Continuing his instructions on the three Ways, Tomás recommends as meditation for beginners the Passion of Christ, for progressives the virtues of Christ, and for adepts the love of Christ ; or, alternatively and respectively, the knowledge of God through visible creatures, the Divine perfections in themselves, and oneness with God. The last exercise is apparently to be less one of meditation than of aspiration, though Fray Tomás does not actually say that meditation should cease at any stage,[5] merely laying it down that "the more perfect form of prayer is by way of contemplation rather than by reasoning, and in contemplation there are many degrees, there being much perfection in that which depends not on the senses, and more in that which is more purely intellectual, and

[1] Bk. ii, chap. 2 (*ed. cit.*, p. 38).
[2] *Ibid.* (pp. 38–9).
[3] *Ibid.* (p. 36).
[4] Bk. ii, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 56).
[5] *Ibid.* (pp. 62–3). Various other distinctions are made (pp. 63–4).

most of all in that which is through negative knowledge of God, the which they call mystical theology." [1]

Just as the natures of the three Ways differ, and the exercises recommended for each differ, so does the aim of the exercitant change as he passes from one Way to another. "Beginners as a rule seek favours and consolations, and consider their own good more than that which is solely the glory of God. Progressives are more detached and seek virtues rather than consolations, endeavouring to know God that they may love and serve Him. But the adepts (*perfectos*) forgetting themselves and their comforts, love God for Himself, seeking only that which is to His greater glory, and for love of Him desiring to suffer and bear the cross and forgo their own comfort and spiritual quiet that they may help to save their neighbours to the sole end that God may be served and glorified." [2]

These notes represent only a few of the salient points of the *Rules*, and do not profess to be a summary of it. But they are sufficient to illustrate its two most prominent characteristics—a preoccupation with "natural" prayer, though in no way to the exclusion of the "supernatural", which is never for long lost from sight, and a definiteness in the distinctions made between the three stages of the mystical life which is quite artificial and presents a strange contrast with Tomás de Jesús' earlier attitude.[3] The specifying of types of sin from which beginners, progressives and adepts respectively should refrain, and the apportionment to them, for their respective meditations, of subjects which are really inseparable from each other, suggest a theoretical exclusiveness which is not commonly, and in fact cannot be effectively, carried into practice.

III

The Latin treatise entitled *Divinae orationis sive a Deo infusae methodus, natura et gradus* (1623) is presumably the more advanced work treating of supernatural prayer

[1] Bk. ii, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 64). [2] *Ibid.* (pp. 65–6). [3] *Cf.* p. 291, above.

to which Tomás de Jesús refers in the *Rules*.[1] In its four books the author describes "the secrets of the Divine and inward affections" according to "the mind of the Scriptures and of the holy Fathers." We discover that Tomás de Jesús develops the plan of the Mystic Way more fully than any other Spanish writer we have yet encountered who superimposes a higher mystical life upon his own interpretation of the three traditional grades of the life of contemplation. He repeats, in fact, the threefold division, giving to each of the higher grades a meaning quite distinct from that borne by the corresponding grade in the lower scale. His first book, besides indicating the number and nature of these grades, treats his subject as a whole, defining infused prayer, showing how varied may be its manifestations, describing its effects, advising the aspirant how to attain to it, and setting out rules and "documents" for those on whom it is bestowed.

The three remaining books treat in turn the three mystical stages. The Purgative Way[2] appears to be similar in nature to St. John of the Cross' Dark Night of the Spirit.[3] It begins with desolations and afflictions of all kinds—physical and spiritual—similar to those described by the two great Carmelites, though their descriptions are utilized but little in this exposition.[4] Beginners in this higher life are, of course, already sufficiently practised in mental prayer to be able to pursue contemplation[5]; indeed, they may at times receive visions and revelations,[6] and become enraptured, though such favours are to be looked upon with the utmost

[1] *Reglas*, etc., bk. ii, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 55): "Aquí no trato ahora del primer grado, o especie de oración; por que en éste hay cosas muy altas, y profundas, las cuales examinaremos, con el favor divino, en un particular tratado."

[2] See bk. i, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 42): "Via purgativa supernaturalis et infusa in eo consistit, ut incipientes peculiari Spiritus Sancti illustratione et motione purgentur a vitiis, animaeque affectiones seu passiones reformentur, ita ut animae caro promptè deserviat, rationique sensualitas pareat, atque divinis mandatis voluntas obediat."

[3] Though occasionally it approximates more closely to the Night of Sense as described by St. John of the Cross.

[4] Bk. ii, chaps. 8, 11, 12.

[5] Bk. ii, chap. 9.

[6] Bk. ii, chap. 10.

caution : " all such kinds of sweetness (*dulcedines*) when they befall a soul in the purgative way, are full of peril, frequently false," [1] and " never to be rested in." [2] For the most part, however, all " sensible grace " seems to be taken from the beginner in purgation and it is with such a condition that he has normally to reckon.[3]

The illuminative state [4] to which the mystic is raised on issuing from the purgation of the spirit is a very lofty one. A light surrounds and illumines him, the intensity of which is comparable only to the darkness from which he has emerged. Here may be placed the Divine darkness (*contemplatio Dei in caligine*) [5] described by Dionysius and Herp in terms which Fray Tomás elaborates without difficulty, distinguishing two grades,[6] the second of which leads to a state in which raptures are frequent and nearness to the unitive life is evident. The visions revealed in the raptures of the illuminative life are " marvellous visions and revelations of the Divine secrets " [7]; care is still needful, for unless the soul is thoroughly purged it is apt to be caught up

[1] Bk. ii, chap. 10 (*ed. cit.*, p. 146).

[2] He makes some distinction (p. 147) between the attitude to be adopted to visions and that to raptures.

[3] Bk. ii, chap. 13.

[4] See bk. i, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 42) : " Fulgore contemplationis divinitus infundatur, ac ad aeternorum et divinorum speculationem sublevetur : in hoc enim statu menti nostrae summae lucis splendor infulget atque irradiat, ut divinae sapientiae particeps effecta, ea quae fidei sunt, medio intellectus dono, sincerè intendat, subtiliter penetret, profundè concipiat, ac demum ea quae fidem corroborant, articulorum quoque ipsius rationes nexum ac ordinem acie contempletur serenâ."

[5] Bk. iii, chap. 3.

[6] Bk. iii, chap. 3 (*ed. cit.*, p. 250) : " In primo, mens, pacatis passionibus, phantasmatibus quasi consopitis, tranquillè ac purè Deum in tenebra, hoc est sub quadam generali incomprehensibilitatis ratione, contuetur.

" In secundo, verò, sentitur caligo illa, sive inaccessibile Dei lumen, quo non tantùm mens illuminatur perfectius quàm in primo, sed etiam quasi solaribus radiis vicinior ac eisdem perculsa servet ardentiùs. In primo, amoris vulnere sauciatur : in secundo ligatur, et prae amoris magnitudine ita languet, ut nihil possit ei satisfacere praeter unionem cum dilecto, quam concupiscit ardenter : ad ipsum enim anhelat, in ipsum suspirat, ex ipso inardescit, ac in ipso solo desiderat requiescere : saepè extra se amoris impetu rapitur, incipitque incomprehensibilis Dei divitias intueri, multaque ei per divinam revelationem manifestantur, sed nec eis contenta manet, iterum enim maiori impetu et fervore ad unionem cum dilecto, omnia illa transcendens, ardentissime anhelat."

[7] Bk. iii, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, pp. 255–6).

" into a lower heaven, that is, into the imagination," [1] but once it is freed from lower things it can receive, while still in this state, communications which are given only to the purest of the pure.[2] A digression here, which we cannot follow because of its length, distinguishes between the different degrees of illumination which are granted to those in the different mystical states. Returning hence to his main theme, Fray Tomás adumbrates various other possible experiences of the illuminate : the ardent love of God which is engendered in them;[3] the languishing of the spirit,[4] the fervour and the " marvellous delight," [5] any or all of which may accompany it ; the dangers which may come from an over-intense experience, whether of desolation or delight ; and the virtues that are practised in the Illuminative Way [6] —for Fray Tomás never forgets the virtues.

Hence, after the cautions necessary to illuminates and some " documents " for their profit,[7] we pass to the unitive life, the state reached by the " adepts " (*perfectos*) of the *Rules*, who in this book are termed *perfecti*.[8] The word, even here, is not to be taken as meaning that they have no farther to travel, but that the state to which they have attained is the highest possible to them. There are many kinds and manifestations of union, two divisions in particular being paramount—that which is *sobria* and that which is *ebria et ecstatica*.

We need not follow Tomás as he describes the grades of " ecstatic and fruitive " union, for even when we have touched so high a level we are not free from nice discriminations. The familiar mystical similitudes are introduced [9] ; the familiar terms, which some might

[1] Bk. iii, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 257).
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Bk. iii, chap. 6.
[4] Bk. iii, chap. 7.
[5] Bk. iii, chap. 8.
[6] Bk. iii, chap. 12.
[7] Bk. iii, chap. 13.
[8] *Cf.* bk. i, chap. 5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 43): " Perfecti quidem dicuntur, non qui amplius in spiritu perfici nequeunt (hoc enim viatoribus repugnat) sed qui virtutibus moralibus et infusis in optimo gradu comparatis, magna scilicet puritate mentis adepta, merito ad oris osculum ab sponso admittuntur. . . . In hoc gradu in amorem transformatur agnitio, ipsaque sapientiae doni intuitio sive contemplatio in charitatis affectum resolvitur, atque a semetipsa mens contemplativa deficiens, ac a sensu abstracta, ab intellectu suspensa, in amore liquescit et moritur."
[9] *E.g.* bk. iv, chaps. 13, 14.

call hyperbolic, even when decently veiled in Latin. From these heights Tomás descends for a time to write of the respective *rôles* of activity and passivity in the quest for union,[1] to speak of the part played by purgation even in union itself, and to offer advice (taken chiefly from Dionysius and St. Bonaventura) on the ascent of the mount of contemplation. There are none, he says, who by Divine grace cannot aspire to union, or even walk in the Unitive Way.[2] From this theme the author passes upward again to consider the effects of Divine union. The chapter being too long to summarize, we content ourselves with indicating as briefly as possible what these effects are :

1. Immensa animae Deo unitae pulchritudo.[3]
2. Splendor lucis. (Here we have the mystical similitude of the sun shining through glass.)
3. Ardor amoris.[4]
4. Ineffabilis suavitas. ("Quaedam quasi beatifica fruitio *consequitur*.")[5]
5. Pax exuperans omnem sensum.
6. Virtutum omnium ornatus ("quas Deus in supremo gradu animae eius sponsae dilectissimae infundere solet").[6] (Tomás

[1] Bk. iv, chap. 20 (*ed. cit.*, p. 523) : "Alterum, quod in nostra situm est voluntate, non tamen sine divini auxilii infuso lumine. Quod quidem dispositionis genus, activum meritò nuncupari potest, quia numquam sine nostro conatu cooperationeve solet contingere. Alterum dispositionum genus, passivum in eo sensu dicitur, quia anima divinitus a Deo praeventa, ad hanc arcanam cum ipso coniunctionem, non tam duci, quam trahi rapique videtur."

[2] Bk. iv, chap. 23 (*ed. cit.*, p. 536).

[3] Bk. iv, chap. 25 (*ed. cit.*, pp. 551–2) : "Quanta sit animae ad tantam gloriam sublimatae gratia et pulchritudo, ex eo facilè coniici potest, quòd Deus eam spirituali sibi connubio iunxerit, sponsamque dicaverit : Hanc saepè Deus ita alloquitur : Tu es filia mea dilecta. Tu sponsa mea, in qua mihi benè complacui. Aliquando verò (non tamen sine divina revelatione) anima ad hunc pertingens statum, non solum de sua acceptatione sive gracia redditur certa, ita ut aliquando similia verba audire mereatur : sufficit tibi gratia mea ; sed etiam de speciali Dei protectione, sive in gratia confirmatione (ut Apostolis contigit), reddatur secura."

[4] *Ibid.* (p. 561) : "Immensae . . . claritati, qua intellectiva potentia Deum sibi praesentem ac unitum contemplatur, *succedit* ardentissimus ac incomprehensibilis amor. . . . Facit . . . animam ardore suo liquescere, ac in amorem divinum, qui sine mensura est, transformari ; solus amor est medium, quo anima divino complexu Deo sociatur, coniungitur, adhaeret, ac veluti divino copulatur matrimonio."

[5] *Ibid.* (p. 564).

[6] *Ibid.* (p. 570).

is evidently determined that none of his readers shall describe mystical union as non-moral or unconnected with daily life. *Cf.* No. 7.)

7. Vera Christi imitatio.

8. Contemptus rerum humanarum.[1]

9. Perfecta mandatorum Dei et Ecclesiae adimpletio. (This, in the light of later chapters of this book, will be seen to be significant; though it is but slightly developed, its very inclusion is of importance.)

10. Mirabilis corporis transmutatio. (This theme the author evidently feels to be the climax of his chapter, and he develops it with great care, bringing to his aid either as authorities or as illustrations Gerson, Aristotle, Moses, St. Thomas, St. Mary Magdalen, Santa María Egipciaca, St. Monica, St. Teresa, St. Bonaventura, Dionysius, and St. Laurence Justinian, in approximately that order. The essential part of the description is so familiar to students of the mystics that it does not seem worth quoting at length. In general, it may be said that there is more emphasis on the fact of *change* (especially outward change) than on that of *oneness*: the list of names given above illustrates this.)

The last five chapters of this lengthy work deal with a special case of union between the soul and Christ —namely, in the Holy Eucharist. These chapters endeavour to prove that such union is "real, immediate, fruitive and ecstatic." They are perhaps less important intrinsically to-day than historically, in view of the later developments of Spanish mysticism. But it is worth while setting on record, if only for the purpose of later reference, some examples of the terms in which Tomás de Jesús could write of Eucharistic union.[2]

[1] Bk. iv, chap. 25 (*ed. cit.*, pp. 576–7): "Nec solum super terrena et mundana lucra sustolluntur a Deo, sed etiam supra omnes curas, supra omnem perturbationem, supra mortis metum, et omnia quae animae vel corpori accidere possunt, tranquilla mentis libertate elevantur. Neque frequentia hominum, neque occupationes externae eis praesentiam Dei praeripiunt; quia ipsi in omni multiplicitate unitatem spiritus servare novunt, stabili essentialique introversione donati."

[2] "Istud verò matrimonium spirituale tot suprema unio animae cum Christo, est maxima omnium, quae in hac vita cum eodem Christo contingere potest; nec facile ad eam omnes dignè etiam suscipientes Xtum admittuntur, sed tantum illi, qui ad ipso diversis tribulationibus et tentationibus prius fuerunt exercitati, ac veluti aurum in fornaci probati, ac digni inventi, ut diutiùs amorem ac praesentiam suam in hoc Sacramento Xtus prae nimio amore dissimulare ac occultare non possit," etc. (p. 620).

"In hac igitur praeclarissima unione, anima etiam in hac vita prae amore

Needless to say, the *Divinae orationis methodus* is highly derivative, in which fact lies much of its historical importance. The Carmelite saints, as we shall expect from what has been said, are hardly mentioned. The principal sources of the book are such writers as Dionysius, St. Bonaventura, the Victorines and St. Bernard, Richard of St. Victor (" venerabilis Richardus ") being the most frequently picked out for lengthy excerpts. St. Gregory, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas would perhaps come next, and the only other names of real interest to a student of Spanish mysticism are those of Gerson and Ruysbroeck, who, however, are used with considerably less frequency.

IV

The importance of Tomás de Jesús in the history of mystical theology in Spain is closely bound up with his teaching, at which we have already glanced, on " acquired contemplation." It is not our intention to take sides in the controversy which has arisen on this subject in Spain and elsewhere, and to which some reference is made in our Bibliography.[1] To devote adequate consideration to it would involve the careful examination, on the one hand, of passages from the greater mystics, and on the other of the writings of little-known authors, such as José de Jesús María, Honorato de Santa María and Felipe de la Santísima Trinidad. It is not, of course, disputed by any of the controversialists that Tomás de Jesús and many of his contemporaries and successors maintained " the existence of an ' ordinary,' non-discursive prayer," which they generally termed " acquired," as opposed to " infused " contemplation.[2]

extra se rapta soporatur, ibique dormit somno placidissimo ac per mentis excessum extra se rapta, omnino eius sensus tam interiores quam exteriores absorbentur " (p. 624).

" O eximiam et beatam Xti et animae coniunctionem ! quae talis tantaque est, ut Xtus fit illi omnia in omnibus, qui ideo factus est homo, ut media hac Sacramentali ac Deifica unione homo fieret Deus " (p. 628).

[1] Nos. 923–31.

[2] P. Villada, S.J., in *Razón y Fe*, 1919, p. 203.

The question is as to whether or no the great mystics maintained it likewise and whether or no it is a reality. P. Claudio de Jesús Crucificado, P. Villada, P. Juan Vicente de Jesús María and others are convinced that (to go no farther) St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross both taught "acquired" contemplation,[1] and that Tomás de Jesús and others were following faithfully in their steps, merely making explicit some of their implications. By no means all Carmelite writers support them, and they are opposed by learned Dominicans such as the late P. Arintero and P. Ignacio Menéndez-Reigada, Franciscans and Capuchins like P. Vicente Peralta, and others, who declare, in the words of Saudreau, that "the masters of the spiritual life know no contemplation that is not mystical" and consider the words "mystical" (*i.e.* "infused") and "contemplative" to be synonymous.[2]

Without going farther into the dispute or discussing if Tomás de Jesús is, as has been asserted, the first Spanish mystic to define "acquired contemplation," which he does in 1610,[3] we may at least remark that throughout this volume we have shown the gradual development of a double tri-partition of the Mystic Way from additions made by this writer and that to the traditional single one. Such double divisions, differing in detail, but, in their general nature, and probably also

[1] The student can hardly do better, in considering this question, than begin with the relevant pages (pp. 23–30) of P. Eugenio's edition of *De Contemplatione acquisita* (Bibl., No. 1799) in which the editor cites the passages of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross which, as he alleges, teach "acquired" contemplation.

[2] Auguste Saudreau, *L'Etat Mystique*, Paris, 1921 (Bibl., No. 25), chap. 12. Among the "masters" Saudreau places St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, and considers their teaching as well as that of other less important Spanish mystics.

[3] Saudreau, Poulain and others give the date of the *Suma*, mistakenly, as 1609. Another Spanish writer claimed as the first exponent of acquired contemplation is Antonio de Alvarado, Prior of San Benito el Real, Valladolid, who is almost exactly contemporary with Tomás de Jesús. Poulain (trans. Yorke Smith, London, 1921, p. 61), asserts that the expression "acquired contemplation" was employed in the same sense by Denis the Carthusian; Tomás de Jesús takes it back to Richard of St. Victor (p. 305, n. 3, below); and its eighteenth-century defenders attributed it freely to the Fathers. (*Cf.* Poulain, *ed. cit.*, pp. 61–2, and writers named in Bibl., Nos. 923–31.)

in their modes of origin, quite similar, we have seen in writers as early in date as García de Cisneros, St. Thomas of Villanueva and Bernardino de Laredo, while in Jerónimo Gracián we have a double tri-partition which is strikingly similar to that of Tomás de Jesús. That two disciples of the Carmelite Saints should evolve schemes of progress so similar is certainly an argument which the defenders of acquired contemplation are entitled to work upon. As our present task, however, is to study the doctrine of one author only we may allow the matter to rest there.

It has been given a certain actuality by the recent issue, in Milan, of an unpublished Latin opuscule by Tomás de Jesús, dealing with this very subject, and entitled *De Contemplatione acquisita*. Though the book had previously been published in French from another manuscript, it was but little known, and has been of considerable value in clarifying our author's teaching in a way which the more allusive passages in his other works could not possibly do. The book consists of three parts, of which the first commends in a general fashion the practice of contemplation "whereto all are to be invited," [1] and the second and third deal entirely with the author's proper theme.

At the beginning of the second book, Fray Tomás defines acquired contemplation,[2] to which, he says, writers on mysticism have not usually given a separate name, though they have written of it together with infused contemplation.[3] In essence it is the knowledge of God which we obtain through our own effort, but the definition is extended to include a knowledge of the creatures, whereby we may rise to a knowledge of the Deity.[4]

He makes it very evident that for him (and, he

[1] *De Contemplatione acquisita, ed. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] "Contemplatio acquisita, quae proprie christiana dicitur, merito hoc modo definiri potest: contemplatio christiana est summae Deitatis atque effectuum ejus affectuosa et sincera cognitio, nostra industria comparata" (*ed. cit.*, p. 76).

[3] Cf. *ed. cit.*, pp. 108–12, where he describes the three grades of acquired contemplation according to Richard of St. Victor.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, p. 76.

claims, for St. Thomas Aquinas[1] and St. Teresa,[2] contemplation, whether acquired or infused, is an act of the intellect. He also anticipates criticism by disclaiming having confused meditation and acquired contemplation. The latter is as much the "finding" compared with which the former is the "seeking," as much the "enjoying" after the former's "labouring," as is infused contemplation, from which it does not essentially differ. Meditation brings the aspirant but to the gate of truth; contemplation allows him to enter the gate and penetrate truth's secrets.[3]

The essence of the remainder of the book may be summed up in the metaphor of the boat which Tomás de Jesús uses, reminding us of Bernardino de Laredo.[4] Acquired contemplation, which we have through our own effort, he likens to rowing with oars. Infused contemplation, which comes through the grace of God alone, is like the driving of a boat by the wind in the sails. But it sometimes happens that the boatman needs both sails and oars together. And to correspond to this there is a third kind of contemplation, neither acquired nor infused, but "a mingling of both."[5] The existence of this third kind blunts to some extent the distinction which might otherwise be made between the two others.

This survey of the work of Tomás de Jesús, brief as it is, will show that his place in the history of Spanish mysticism is even more important than the story of his life, or a catalogue of his writings, would indicate. His sturdy adherence to orthodox tradition in the main lines of his teaching sets him in sharp contrast with the quietists of the seventeenth century. His numerous accounts of the Mystic Way testify to wide reading and a notable spirituality of outlook, while their diversity is such as could only have come from an independent and forceful mind. Finally, his position with regard to "acquired contemplation" marks him out among Spanish mystics of the decline, and assures him a careful reading by students if not their general support.

[1] *Ed. cit.*, p. 73. [2] *Cf.* pp. 289–90, above. [3] *Ed. cit.*, p. 74.
[4] *Cf.* p. 70, above. [5] *Ed. cit.*, p. 19.

CHAPTER XI

POST-TERESAN MYSTICISM: LUIS DE LA PUENTE

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I

Soon after the death of St. Teresa, and long before many who had known her in the flesh had passed away, there began to flourish in Spain a type of mystical treatise which was in its general character largely derivative, and aimed at systematizing the teaching of the great mystics, either of contemporary Spain, or of other countries and earlier ages. A writer most of whose books belong to this type we have studied in Tomás de Jesús, the Carmelite, who may be considered as representative of the post-Teresan Carmelites in his desire to propagate the writings of the holy Mother, and also in his knowledge of the works of her Spanish contemporaries. Despite the efforts, however, made by the later Carmelites—Juan de Jesús María, José del Espíritu Santo and others—towards the systematization in Spain of mystical teaching, the principal achievements in that direction are to be placed rather to the credit of the Jesuits.

The founder of the Society of Jesus, as we saw in the last volume, refrained studiously from writing about his own mystical experiences, either in his letters or in the *Spiritual Exercises*. In this, though not necessarily for the same reasons as his own, he was followed by his disciples. The great Jesuit writers on mystical theology in the seventeenth century do not, as a rule, write from personal experience, but from contact, whether at first or at second hand, with those who have enjoyed such experience. And wonderful contacts lie near them, for few, whether in the world or in the cloister, have written of mysticism from personal knowledge in the manner of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross.

But a second characteristic of these Jesuit authors is that they do not depend chiefly, or even to any great

extent at all, upon their immediate Spanish predecessors. In their desire to build above all things upon a solid foundation,[1] they base their teaching squarely upon the Bible, the Fathers, and such mediaeval mystics as can be said to have received the hall-mark of orthodoxy.[2] Their contemporaries they use, where they do use them, rather for the purposes of illustration and of comment. We may regret this, but, if we consider the large number of Spanish writers on mysticism in the Golden Age, we shall hardly deny that they acted with great prudence, even if they lost something, as well as gained, by doing so.

To choose a single mystical writer from among the many Spanish Jesuits who flourished during the post-Carmelite period is no easy task. The names of Alonso Rodríguez, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, Francisco de Ribera, Francisco Arias, Diego Álvarez de Paz and Baltasar Álvarez come at once to the mind. Whether Luis de la Puente is greater than each of these is no doubt a debatable question. Nieremberg, in particular, is an energetic personality and an eloquent writer. Álvarez de Paz goes more deeply, perhaps, than any of the rest into his subject, though he is less comprehensive than some of them and has certainly not been the most influential. We have selected La Puente as being, in our view, the writer most representative of the particular stage of Spanish mysticism which we are here endeavouring to illustrate, and as having wielded the greatest influence upon the centuries into which the scope of these *Studies* does not permit us to travel.

The biography of Luis de la Puente is a story so uneventful that its main points can be rehearsed very

[1] It is an interesting fact, though no general conclusion should, without more evidence, be drawn from it, that the mystical writer in Spain during the seventeenth century who makes most use of his contemporaries and compatriots is the quietist Falconi, to be considered in the next chapter.

[2] *Cf.* (*e.g.*) Luis de la Puente, *Obras*, ed. 1690 (Bibl., No. 1815: the edition quoted in this chapter unless otherwise stated), vol. i, pt. i, pp. 1–2, where he enumerates, as his sources, only the Bible, the mystical Fathers and the Scholastic Doctors. No other writer is quoted in the work in question (*Meditaciones*, etc.) except St. Ignatius of Loyola.

briefly. Born at Valladolid on November 11, 1554, of distinguished parentage, he was educated at the University of his native city. Afterwards he studied theology, during the years 1573–4, at the Dominican College of St. Gregory, with which we have already come twice into contact, and at the Jesuit College of St. Ambrose, which at that time enjoyed a reputation equal to that of St. Gregory.

At St. Ambrose, Francisco Suárez, the great Jesuit doctor, then a young man of six-and-twenty, had just begun to lecture when Luis de la Puente entered the College to put the finishing touches to his studies. So great was the admiration which the student conceived for the young lecturer that he determined to follow in his footsteps, and, before concluding his course, was admitted to the Society of Jesus (December 2, 1574) at the College.

On joining the Society, La Puente was sent to the Jesuit College at Medina del Campo, under Baltasar Álvarez, whose biography he afterwards wrote. On December 8, 1576, he made his profession at Valladolid, where he had returned to terminate his studies in theology; these he completed in 1578, going afterwards to Oñate and thence to Villagarcía, before being ordained at Valladolid in 1580. It will be seen how completely his life is bound up with his native city, which rightly honours him as one of its most famous citizens.

After his ordination, he spent five years as a teacher in the Jesuit Colleges of León and Salamanca. At the end of 1585 he returned to Villagarcía as a minor official, becoming, after a little more than a year, vice-rector and novice-master. At this point we hear for the first time of his delicate health, which made his double office at Villagarcía too onerous for him. In 1589, therefore, he was sent to Salamanca, and, in 1591, back to Valladolid as lecturer in theology at St. Ambrose. His health having improved, he went to Medina as rector and novice-master, and thence once more to Villagarcía. Here, however, he stayed only a few

months, being appointed, in 1594, Rector of St. Ambrose at Valladolid.

These twenty years of La Puente's life as a Jesuit are typical of the remainder. From one place to another he went, under obedience, serving his Society in whatever way seemed best to his superiors, but in no way which, as it chanced, was to make particularly interesting history. As a young man, he is credited by some of his biographers with having desired to go to Japan as a missionary. Had he done so, the story of his life would have been very different.

For two years (1594–96) La Puente was Rector of St. Ambrose, and again, at a later time, for rather less than two years (1601–2); at the end of this latter period his health broke down once more. It became clear to his superiors that he would be unable to bear heavy burdens of administration, and, though the rest of his life was spent mainly at Valladolid, and in close connexion with St. Ambrose, he served the College in the less exacting post of Prefect of Studies. To this fact, no doubt, we owe the fact that from 1605 onwards he was able to publish frequently.

His first book, which appeared at Valladolid in 1605, is entitled *Meditations on the mysteries of our holy faith, with the practice of mental prayer upon them.* This went into a second edition in 1607, and, in 1609, a third edition was published at Barcelona.[1] "Six years after its publication," says a modern biographer, "the book had been printed in Latin, French and English, and soon afterwards it was translated into German, Italian, Polish and Flemish."[2] The famous *Spiritual Guide*, published at Valladolid in 1609, and re-issued in Madrid five years later, enjoyed scarcely less celebrity.[3] Practically all La Puente's works went into Latin and French within a few years of their first publication, and

[1] Bibl., Nos. 1835–7.

[2] Elías Reyero, *Obras espirituales póstumas*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1877), p. 11. I have not found particulars of some of these translations, in spite of having searched for them in five countries.

[3] Bibl., Nos. 1830–1.

into other languages with greater or less regularity. There would thus be few Catholics in Europe unable to read him, and thousands unacquainted with his name would be familiar, as are thousands still, with the gallicized name of Du Pont by which he has been frequently referred to in editions and commentaries.

La Puente's next work was one of formidable size, called *The Perfection of the Christian in all the Estates of his Life*. Of this, the first two volumes were published at Valladolid in 1612–13, and the last two at Pamplona in 1616.[1] A French translation of the first volume was published in the same year of its appearance in Spanish, a Latin translation appearing in Cologne two years later. While this work was in process of publication, there came out (1615) in Madrid La Puente's biography of Baltasar Álvarez.

During all this time La Puente was living at his old College of St. Ambrose, exercising from time to time various external duties and offices, but dividing his energies mainly between his own writings and his post of Prefect of Studies. In 1621, his health grew so bad that he laid down even that office, and from this time until his death on February 16, 1624, he lived in quiet seclusion. The only other work which he himself published was an *Expositio Moralis et Mystica in Canticum Canticorum* (1622). Unlike his other books, this is written in Latin, a language to which some of his contemporaries (the Jesuits especially) were returning in their mystical and semi-mystical treatises. At his death he left an unfinished biography of Marina de Escobar, which was subsequently completed and published, together with several other opuscules enumerated in our Bibliography.

II

Writing, as we have said, almost exclusively in Spanish, La Puente can be read with ease by his fellow-countrymen. While his style is neither distinguished

[1] Bibl., No. 1849.

as to its general level nor characterized in any place by great loftiness, it is eminently perspicuous, effective and adequate to the purpose of his writings, which is probably all that he wished it to be. For, among the many qualities which we can admire in him, none is more marked than his efficiency. The expositions he has left us are noteworthy no less for their scientific precision than for the depth of their underlying devotion.

As good an example as any of the precision of La Puente's method and of the clarity of his style will be found in the brief introduction to his *Meditations*,[1] which, as he says, "contains a summary of the things comprehended in the practice and exercise of mental prayer."[2] By mental prayer, "in which are meditated the mysteries of our holy faith,"[3] he seems to mean certain degrees of what we have referred to as acquired contemplation. He first defines it, specifying in turn the parts played in it by memory, understanding and will. The course of the exercitant is then mapped out for him. "Sinners who earnestly desire to be converted to God" must tread the Purgative Way, till they attain to "perfect justification."[4] Then, by walking in the Illuminative Way, they grow in virtue, and at length "arrive at the state of the perfect, and, walking the Unitive Way . . ., attain to the perfect union of love."[5] The meditations for these three Ways, which form the subject of the book itself, are arranged on the basis of this division, and show clearly the influence of St. Ignatius' *Exercises*. The meditations of the Purgative Way (Part I), are on sin; of the Illuminative Way (Parts II, III, IV), on the life of Christ[6]; and of the Unitive Way (Parts V, VI), on the glorification of Christ, the perfections of the Godhead and themes related to these. The aims of each stage of mental prayer are stated to be to arrive

[1] *Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 1–22.
[2] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 7.
[5] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 7–8.
[6] Cf. *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 157: "Y los que quisieren excluir siempre de la contemplación los misterios de su sacratísima Humanidad, serán excluídos de gozar los frutos y regalos de la vida eterna."

at a knowledge respectively of ourselves, of Christ and of the Triune God.[1] Little is said of the exercitant's eventual haven, but much of the journey to it : minute directions for prayer and meditation are given, including suggestions on such practical themes as the introduction of the element of variety into them and the use to be made of the imagination and the senses.[2]

Over and above this manner of mental prayer there is to be set an " extraordinary " prayer

which embraces modes of prayer more special, and supernatural, called prayer of quiet or silence ; with suspensions, ecstasies or raptures ; with imaginary figures of the truths revealed therein, or with the intellectual light thereof alone ; with revelations and interior locutions, and with innumerable other manners which God has of communicating Himself to souls, concerning which no certain rule can be given.[3]

Such kinds of higher prayer

must not be laid claim to, nor sought, by ourselves, lest we should become proud and presumptuous, and therefore all but unworthy of them. Rather should we humbly put them from us, as far as in us lies, for the peril of being deceived therein by Satan, transfigured into an angel of light. But, when it is God who communicates them, they should be received with humility and thankfulness, and with great caution and prudence.[4]

Having said this, however, and given some examples of what this infused contemplation is, La Puente returns to acquired prayer, and ends his introduction with the most practical of rules concerning the times and the places most suitable for meditation.

It need hardly be said that a book with an introduction so carefully planned is itself arranged with the greatest method and closely packed with profitable material. We can detect at once several important differences between La Puente and equally derivative writers, earlier in date, and less scientific either by nature or by training or both. In the first place, we find in La Puente a care for arrangement, and a conciseness of

[1] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 15.
[2] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 12–15.
[3] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 16.
[4] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 16–17.

style, wholly absent in previous Spanish treatises of the kind, with but few exceptions. All the material used, again, is directed, and felt by the reader to be directed, towards the author's aim. Then, although the meditations and the introductory matter are both confessedly based on many authorities, La Puente has so well assimilated his sources that his personality dominates the whole. This is by no means a unique achievement, nor is it even characteristic of this period only. We found it, to a very much smaller degree, in García de Cisneros, at the very beginning of the Golden Age, and we may find it also in a number of intervening writers. But in few, if any, of them is it to be found so markedly ; and it is precisely this higher degree of assimilation which is one of the strongest characteristics of La Puente and his fellow-Jesuits, just as it is the greater constancy of it that stamps their period.

One or two features only of the *Meditations* call for special attention. There is comparatively frequent mention in them of the " transfiguration," " transformation " and " deification " of the soul in union,[1] but very little is said as to precisely what these words mean—without which explanation the mention of them has small value. Had La Puente in his exposition used the Carmelite sources which lay to his hand, it would, in this respect at least, have gained in clarity.

Connected in its effect with this ambiguity is the somewhat vague use in the *Meditations* of the phrase " unitive love " and the description of its results—a blemish, again, closely related with the unsatisfactory use of the term " unitive way " and " the state of the perfect " in speaking of the lower stages of the life of contemplation. Unitive love, we are told, " enraptures [2]

[1] E.g. *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 282 : "[Prayer] alcanza la transfiguración del alma, trocando y mudando la vida de terrestre en celestial, y de humana en divina. . . . Allí queda [el alma] transformada en Dios, y endiosada, conforme a lo que de ella dice San Pablo : ' Contemplando la gloria de Dios, nos transformamos en su misma imagen.' " This passage is probably to be interpreted (as from its context we may infer) metaphorically ; others are less, and others, again, more susceptible of such interpretation.

[2] Or " captivates," if a less strong word be thought more suitable in translation. The Spanish, however, is *arrebata* (see *S.S.M.*, I, p. 121, n. 4).

the lover's heart and tongue," "causes the lover to forget both himself and all that he has" and "brings strength out of weakness."[1] The "unitive way," though it belongs to the "perfect," can be "aspired to, and to no small extent shared in, by all, even by beginners."[2] The danger of such language, when the context shows clearly that infused contemplation is not referred to, is of course that those who have not in fact progressed beyond the Purgative Way are apt to mistake emotions for supernatural favours and to believe themselves to have experienced the life of Union. In following La Puente's exercises they may have become conscious of some new spiritual experience which seems to them supernatural. They read on in the *Meditations*, and find mentioned in them "the marvellous experiences which we feel within our souls, through celestial enlightenment, and through the affections and sweetnesses of charity and the love of God." "By virtue of this sovereign knowledge," they read, "we shall be filled with the fullness of God and transformed in Him through perfect union."[3] The peril inherent in the use of such words as "perfection" and "union" is evident; and, if it be objected that these *Meditations* were not intended to be used without the guidance of a director, the reply is that, being available for any or all, they were too likely to be so used, and are, in fact, too likely still.

In the matter of visions and revelations, La Puente is fully aware of a similar peril, and follows all the great mystics in warning the exercitant not to be deceived by them.[4] He describes in turn the true and the false vision, advises even those who have experienced true visions not to set too much store by them, and is especially insistent that they are in no way signs of sanctity.[5]

These are the principal, if not the only passages of the *Meditations* which may be said to have a direct

[1] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 170.
[2] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 156.
[3] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 157.
[4] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 274.
[5] *Obras*, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 174, 179, 197, 242, 253.

concern with our subject. Were it not for this fact, the foregoing comments might well be accounted too few for a book of such weight. It bears all the signs of a powerful intellect and a devout spirit, and above all it impresses one as having advanced the tradition of St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* one stage further. And this advance, it may reasonably be contended, is that represented by the progress which had been made in Spain by mystical teaching in general since the *Exercises* were written, though the advance is by no means commensurate with the progress.

III

The work by which La Puente is best known is his *Spiritual Guide*, which, as its title says, deals "with prayer, meditation and contemplation, with Divine visits and with the extraordinary graces of mortification and heroic acts which accompany it." He describes the book, in its preface, as "an abbreviated science of all things pertaining to the spiritual life, and to its two parts, called the active life and the contemplative," [1] and also as a "spiritual guide," not for sinners who are still trying to escape from their evil estate, but for those who "have already done their best to attain to true righteousness and are endeavouring to abide therein, walking fervently in the three ways which are called purgative, illuminative and unitive." [2] In intention, therefore, if not in achievement, the *Guide* is, among other things, a treatise on mysticism.

Its first section deals with the nature, effects and excellences of prayer, acquired mental prayer being referred to, except in a few passages which deal specifically with vocal prayer. Various manners of prayer are described, and a distinction is clearly made between the capability for it which is given to all and the special gift for it which belongs to a few—such as "those whom He has chosen to attain to high degrees of

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv: "Al cristiano lector." [2] *Ibid.*

sanctity in His Church, or to be leaders and masters of others therein, as He gave it to Moses, David and other notable prophets, to the Apostles, to founders of religious orders and other great saints, whom He admits, as it were, to His royal chamber, giving them the golden key of the spirit of prayer that they may enter often to treat with Him of very secret mysteries which are revealed to none save to His intimate friends." [1]

All the kinds of prayer described are founded on remembrance of the Divine Presence,[2] which aids the soul to flee from sin and overcome temptation, to progress in virtue and to do the " works of the unitive life." [3] This theme of prayer, then, as we see, is developed from the outset upon the tri-partite plan,[4] though the application of it is loose and of a general character. It would be difficult, in particular, to make the third division correspond to anything more than what La Puente himself terms " interior quiet." [5]

The next chapters are concerned mainly with practical counsels of a general kind, after which are described interior locutions, " the visits of God in prayer " and other exceptional ways in which God speaks with man, and advice is given on the discernment of spirits. This might seem a somewhat early stage in the book for such a theme ; the transition, however, is logical, and the chapters, coming at the end of the section, form a culmination to this part of the argument.

The second section of the *Spiritual Guide* treats of " holy reading and meditation, which is concerned with the knowledge of oneself, of Christ Our Lord, and of His Saints, and of God, by means of created things." [6] The argument leads us upward from the " Book of the Gospels," the " Book of the creatures," and the " Book

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 24.

[2] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 28 : " . . . la memoria de la divina presencia, que es el primer escalón para todo género de oración, y en ella también se suele alcanzar el último de la perfecta contemplación."

[3] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 31.

[4] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 29 : " Declararemos esto, discurriendo por los tres caminos de la perfección, que llamamos vía purgativa, iluminativa y unitiva."

[5] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 32.

[6] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 121.

of one's own conscience," to the "Book of the life of Christ" and the "Book of Christ crucified." There follow meditations on the Eucharist and on Heaven. This section strikes the reader as being less practical and effective than the *Meditations* already analyzed, especially in the disposition of its various parts.

By far the most weighty of the four sections of the *Spiritual Guide* is the third, on "perfect contemplation and union with God."[1] The fourth section deals in the conventional way with mortification, and with "other products of the contemplative life or preparations for it,"[2] ending with a commendation of the "mixed life" which does not differ strikingly from those which we have already glanced at. In the third section, on the other hand, we have a fair representation of most of La Puente's mystical teaching, which we must therefore analyze in some detail.

This section is meant chiefly for persons whom God has raised "to the perfect state of the contemplative life and unitive way, or whom He calls with a special vocation to rise thereto."[3] It may also be used by those who have practised the exercises in the first two sections of the *Guide*, as a help towards rising to as high a spiritual state as is possible for them.[4] And "anyone else may read it with advantage," since it will lead all to wonder and delight at God's goodness and to praise Him for it.[5]

La Puente begins by holding up the ideal of supreme earthly happiness, which is the mirror of happiness in the life to come, and consists in "perfect contemplation and union of love with God."[6] What, we shall at once ask, is this ideal of perfection? Is it the union of St.

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 223. [2] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 271.

[3] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 223: "Se escribe principalmente para las personas a quien nuestro Señor ha hecho merced de levantar al estado perfecto de la vida contemplativa y vía unitiva, o con especial vocación las llama para que suban a ella."

[4] The practice of the foregoing exercises, then, corresponding with the Purgative and Illuminative Ways, has not of itself brought the exercitant through those Ways. This is a point, as it seems to me, of considerable importance.

[5] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 223. [6] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 224.

Teresa's seventh Mansion? Hardly, for La Puente does not appear to consider such union even possible.

We have fruition of God when from this knowledge and love of Him we extract some part of His gifts and graces which enrich our soul, and fill it with great peace and joy through the possession of this greatest Good in Whom are contained all good things. But since in our mortal life this cannot be fully attained, the same acts must be repeated anew, very frequently and continually. We must return and seek Him again and find Him anew, in order that we may touch Him and enjoy Him in greater fullness and perfection.[1]

Synonymous with "perfect contemplation and union of love with God" are two sets of terms with which we are familiar. The first is called "inward solitude, silence, idleness and rest."

It is called holy idleness (*ocio*), not because the soul is idle, but because in contemplation the arduous labours of the body cease, the troubles and distress of Martha and the misguided affections and imaginations of the heart, submitting themselves in quietness to God alone.

It is called silence of the faculties of the soul because in it there cease all words and imaginings, however many and varying they be, and the soul listens attentively to the voice of God. . . . Yet it is not a complete silence, for the faculties, although they be quiet and speak not nor converse with creatures, speak softly and lovingly with their Creator, even as the blessed are silent to the things of earth and speak with their God in glory. . . .

It is called inward solitude, because within the heart is the spirit alone, recollected with its God, and forgetting all things in the world—yea, forgetting even itself.[2]

The second term is "spiritual quiet, which is after the manner of sleep, death and burial." Here

the inferior powers and the senses sleep, ceasing from their acts, and the heart keeps vigil (as is said in the book of the *Songs*) with its spiritual faculties, attentive only to the sight and the love of its Beloved. And the same Beloved keeps vigil within the faculties, causing them to keep vigil likewise.[3]

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 225. With this passage contrast pp. 359–60, below.
[2] *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 226–7. [3] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 228

This state of "quiet" is called death, so complete is the stillness which it causes. Several authorities are given for the use of this term, St. Paul, St. Bernard and St. Gregory being quoted at length. Quiet is "death to all things of the world" and "the sepulchre of the contemplative soul."[1]

Having given, as it were, a distant view of his ideal, La Puente proceeds to retrace his steps and in orderly fashion to follow his subject from start to finish. The things that precede contemplation, which "is a special gift of God, not given to all," are detailed. They are, first, the call of God, and, secondly, the active life well lived. We have already been told[2] that very few people can hope to soar to great heights by "the grace and teaching of God alone," and that, for almost all, both a skilled director and "our own industry and diligence" are necessary. There now follows a description of the "essence and virtues" of contemplation, after which La Puente enumerates its various degrees, reminding us, nevertheless, that there are many others than those which he describes.[3]

The first "way and degree," and that most commonly taken, is the attribution to God of the excellences and perfections that are in the creatures, the beholding of Him, as it were, in the mirror of His revelation of Himself in them. It is true that by this means we can only attain to a very imperfect conception of Him, but, by considering the names and attributes of God which a knowledge of the creatures suggests, the exercitant comes in time to "rise above the creatures" and to "form in the understanding an image of this great God."[4] This second process is the "negative contemplation" of Dionysius, the effort to attain with the understanding to that in God which "infinitely exceeds all that there is in the creatures." In the earlier stage the exercitant considered such names of God as Wise, Merciful, Just, Creator, Father; now he thinks of

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 228–9.
[2] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 224.
[3] *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 229–38.
[4] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 242.

" the names of God which we call negative—namely, Infinite, Eternal, Boundless, Changeless, Incomprehensible, Ineffable." Gradually, in following this path, he throws off reasoning and imagination, and comes to a third stage of " more perfect interior recollection and the highest and surest contemplation of the presence of God." [1]

In this third stage, of which only a great and courageous soul is capable,[2] the first and principal act is " the spiritual perception of God, present with us or in us . . . as quick and as certain as though we saw Him present with the eyes of the body." [3] This comes about by means of various kinds of transitory illumination. Sometimes, " after a manner that can better be felt than described," we realize " that God is there with us, and, without seeing aught, we perceive that we are in the company of a Majesty of immense greatness, which moves us to great wonder and reverence, and causes our spirit to be wholly recollected and gaze at Him attentively." [4] At other times " He reveals Himself to us by the effects which we perceive in our souls, just as one who is in a dark room by night, and perceives the entry of another, knows by his walk, or manner of entry, that it is his father or his friend, and afterwards knows him better by his manner of speech." [5] Again, He reveals Himself " clothed in His marvellous attributes," as " boundless knowledge, as infinite Omnipotence, as Love or Mercy extending over the whole world, as a light, as a mist (*niebla*) or as a sea of immense greatness." [6] Again, He leads us to realize " the presence of the person of the Father, or of the Divine Word, or of the Holy Spirit." [7] Equally, we may attain to a perception, after this kind, of God's presence on earth, and, lastly, to that of His presence in Heaven.

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 246.

[2] *Ibid.* " Los que tratan de subir a la alteza de la contemplación, y ciencia mística del espíritu, no han de tener ánimos rateros y apocados, sino corazones magnánimos y esforzados para pretender el supremo grado de ella, pidiéndola a nuestro Señor con humildad, pero con grande confianza y fervor."

[3] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 247.

[4] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 248.

[5] *Ibid.* *Cf.* pp. 338–9, below.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

The last perception is granted to mortals by especial privilege only, as in raptures and visions.[1]

So that we must look at this fruition and repose from afar, asking for it, and desiring it, not for this life, but for the life beyond. Yet, despite this, God can show us the splendour of His mid-day, in this our exile, in a form very like to that of His Glory, granting to His friends a fruition and a repose which are very like to those of Heaven.[2]

" If He commands us to pray that His kingdom may come to us," continues La Puente, very logically, " what marvel is it that He should grant us sometimes to taste that which we shall there enjoy, even as He granted it to His Apostles ? Would He command us to pray, if He were unwilling to answer our prayer ? And may not His will be done in us in this manner upon earth as it will one day be done in Heaven ? " [3]

This lofty contemplation is pre-figured in the vision of the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, which was granted to the Beloved Disciple.

And what was this save that most lofty contemplation wherein God our Lord reveals to His elect the glorious things which come to pass in the Heavens, making for them heavens wherein He dwells and communicating to them some of the many things that He gives to the blessed ? Then for a space of time He gives them at once fruition and repose : the one, in revealing to them celestial truths that are very lofty ; the other, in giving them Himself without various travailings of much reasoning and with great sweetness of gentlest affections, since while still on earth they have loving converse and fellowship with the citizens of Heaven.[4]

Leaving aside this extra-ordinary form of revelation, La Puente now describes a " higher and more profitable " type of contemplation than that of the third stage—namely, that which St. Paul terms " to know the breadth and length and depth and height " of God, and to be " filled with all His fullness." [5] The greater part of the chapter which deals with this is rather an exposition of the text quoted than a description of any state which

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 250. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 201–2.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] Ephesians iii, 18–19.

differs from the preceding one, and a similar though a more justifiable repetition occurs in the next chapter, which enumerates "three extra-ordinary ways of contemplation" described by "Saint Augustine and other holy Fathers." These prove to be the corporeal, imaginary and intellectual "figures" (visions, locutions, etc.), of which St. Teresa wrote with such wonderful clarity, though La Puente never once mentions her in this connexion.[1] The last kind of "figure" is equivalent to rapture, which is the highest state yet described. Only its exterior manifestations, says La Puente, can be counterfeited by diabolic agency, its inward revelations belonging to God alone.[2]

We come at length—rather tardily, it might be supposed—to "the unitive way, the end whereof is that the soul may be one spirit with God." There are two kinds of union, it now appears: "habitual," which all just men may have and only mortal sin hinders, and "actual," which comes at certain times, chiefly to contemplatives. In this "actual" union all the faculties are united with God, "and the Holy Trinity is with the righteous man, moving him to acts which proceed from charity and from the gifts and virtues which He has placed in him, so that he knows and loves Him actually and perfectly."[3] This union "is not continuous, but comes at certain times, when the Lord is pleased to visit His own." It may be granted occasionally to any righteous man, but "only the perfect can walk in the unitive way and dwell in the state of union, because they have attained to a disposition which fits them to experience it frequently, and are skilled in the co-operation which is necessary on their part." A long and rather fantastic quotation from St. Jerome describes the body as yielding its senses and powers to the soul, the soul as yielding its imaginations and affections to the spirit, and the spirit as yielding its faculties to God. As a result, God reigns in the soul, "aiding the faculties to be recollected and in union, and uniting them with Himself."[4]

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 251–60.
[2] *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 261–2.
[3] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 262.
[4] *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 262–3.

The divisions of this chapter on Union which follow bear the marks of artificiality. Union has "six properties," which embrace those attributed to it by the greatest mystics : the cellar of wine, the wounds of love and other metaphors appear also here. There follow six other properties not unrelated to the foregoing, after which comes one of La Puente's boldest passages on Union, called forth by a consideration of the parts played in it by knowledge and by love.

> Not only does this sovereign union cause the angels to marvel and rejoice but it fires God Himself with love (*enamora al mismo Dios*), to such a point that the soul pierced by the wounds of charity pierces the Divine heart likewise with other wounds of love, so that these two, struck with the arrow of love, may each be mindful of the other, for God will employ Himself in working good to His lover, and the lover will be occupied in serving and loving his God.[1]

This is a daring metaphor, but not, it will be noticed, because it errs on the side of pantheism, towards which La Puente can hardly ever, if at all, be said to stray. He goes no farther towards the metaphors of absorption than in the following passage :

> As the arrows discharged with force penetrate the entrails of him they strike, even so do knowledge and love penetrate the inmost Essence (*lo íntimo*) of God, and are both joined with Him in His union. Knowledge alone would not suffice for this, nor could love alone suffice, for even in Heaven there is no union of love without knowledge, still less on earth, and the same God Who is wounded, and receives them both, keeps them both closely joined within Himself.[2]

The final chapter of this important section of the *Spiritual Guide* deals with some effects of actual Union, which, being recurrent and not continuous, can in no way satisfy the contemplative other than temporarily, but, on the contrary, impel him to utter the more earnest petitions and to desire the more steadfastly an increase in virtues. These and other effects are dealt with at

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 265.

[2] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 266.

length in the fourth section already referred to. The principal effect, and that which La Puente here attempts to describe, is of course the change wrought in the contemplative by the experimental knowledge of God to which he has attained. "He comes to know Him in a manner wholly new and glorious, even as one who touches, handles and feels the infinite greatness and majesty of the Lord Who does such things." [1] "We know the omnipotence of the Father by the sudden change in our habits, desires and pretensions, discovering that, through His virtue, we begin to hate what before we loved and to love what before we hated. . . . We know the wisdom of the Eternal Word, the Son, by the sudden enlightenments of our understanding, when we experience new feelings concerning truths never understood, a great appreciation of things eternal which aforetime we held of small account . . . and finally the marvellous novelty of new meditations and considerations and the heights of light and contemplation, and the effects thereof. . . . The infinite goodness and charity of God and of His Divine Spirit we know more gloriously by the marvellous and fervent acts of love which He infuses into our hearts with the intense sweetness which He pours into them." [2] To these three experiences, according to La Puente, may be reduced all that are caused by this experimental knowledge of God ; he ends his exposition of the whole matter by an application of the story of the Queen of Sheba,[3] which, somewhat out of place at this point as it may seem, has the merit of describing the steps by which this experimental knowledge is attained.

IV

The *Expositio Moralis in Canticum Canticorum* is a large work, comprising two folio volumes and divided into ten books, which professes to be a commentary on the

[1] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 267. [2] *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 268.

[3] *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 269–70. For the nature of the application, in its broad details, see pp. 208–9, above.

Song of Songs. It is arranged, however, as a series of sermons for Sundays and festivals, and, although it follows the text verse by verse, it naturally indulges in an ampler type of exposition than would befit a pure commentary. Thus, the first five books, which deal with Chapters I and II of the *Song of Songs*, describe the mysteries of the Christian faith, the grace and the works necessary for the active Christian life as well as for the contemplative, the practice of both types of life, and the Divine Advent in its various aspects from the Annunciation until the Last Judgment. The rest of the *Song of Songs* is dealt with in the five remaining books, of which only the eighth can properly be called in any great proportion mystical, while the seventh and the ninth are concerned solely with institutional religion, and the tenth is very largely so. The most convenient method, therefore, of treating this somewhat unmanageable exposition, is to extract the chief mystical passages and to group them under the subjects with which they principally deal.

The opposition of La Puente to such ideas as are to be found in the mysticism of both the earlier and the later quietists is very strongly marked in these passages. We must work with God, he tells us, for otherwise His work cannot be perfected in us. "The man that begs God for His gifts must be prepared to co-operate with them."[1] Again, as we have seen, not all Christians, in La Puente's view, are fitted for contemplation, and not all should be expected to practise it. Some cannot rise above meditation upon God as seen in the creatures; some find most good in the reading of the Scriptures and in meditation on Christ's Humanity; others draw grace from the Sacraments and live as those who cultivate the Christian virtues.[2] There are pastors whose vocation is to feed their flocks, just as there are sheep who do not ask more than to be fed by them.[3]

None would have combated more violently than La Puente the doctrines of those heterodox teachers who

[1] *Expositio Moralis in Canticum Canticorum*, bk. i, chap. 14.
[2] *Op. cit.*, bk. ii, chap. 9. [3] *Op. cit.*, bk. iii, chap. 17.

found no place in the contemplative life for the virtues and the good works of the active life. According to him, we cannot grow in grace at all unless we do holy works inspired by charity, and this he asserts specifically of the contemplative life as well as of the active.[1] To the fervent contemplative, in particular, the virtues and the good works which proceed from them are always above all things pleasing ; they take the place for him of those " consolations and delights " with which less earnest souls may be contented.[2] Picturesquely and effectively, the virtues are typified by those " threescore valiant men . . . expert in war " who surround the bed of Solomon [3]—that is, " the bed of the heart and of contemplation " likened elsewhere to the Prayer of Quiet,[4] to the " repose of eternal happiness " and to the nuptial bed of the Bridegroom and the Bride upon earth.

As elsewhere in La Puente, institutional religion takes a very prominent place, even in his mystical passages. The Eucharist to him is as truly a means of union between God and the soul as is the mystic's experience of the innermost mansion : both are typified by the " kisses of the mouth " of the Bridegroom.[5] From the sacred experiences of God and the soul he will pass without effort to the matrimony of God and the Catholic Church, " which alone is altogether lovely among the congregations of men." [6] Like Luis de León,[7] he gives us extended metaphors applicable either to the Church or to the individual, and it is not always easy to say which application he has in mind.[8]

We have also found in La Puente, and we find frequently in this work, a great love for meditation on Our Lord's human nature.[9] To the Sacred Humanity,

[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 14 : " Operaque insignia virtutis et sanctitatis peragenda, tam vitae activae quam contemplativae."

[2] *Op. cit.*, bk. vi, chap. 18. [3] Cant. iii, 7–8.

[4] *Expositio*, etc., bk. vi, chap. 24. *Cf.* also bk. ix, chap. 23.

[5] *Op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 15. [6] *Op. cit.*, bk. iii, chap. 13.

[7] See *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 338–9.

[8] Cf. *Expositio*, etc., bk. v, chaps. 36–8.

[9] *Cf.* the heading of bk. x, chap. 21, § 4, which speaks for itself : " Mysteriae humanitatis Christi non excludi a mystico somno et suprema contemplatione."

indeed, he gives the very highest place possible in a scheme of contemplation. He does not "deny that sometimes in imperfect contemplation imaginary figures of Christ represented as in the manger or on the cross may cease"[1]; at such times no effort is to be made to recall them, for "frequently this naked contemplation enlightens these images so that by means thereof the elect may contemplate God Himself with simple regard, and His attributes and greatness, till they are immersed in the ocean of the Divinity."[2] But there would seem to be, in our author's opinion, no part of the mystical life at which images of Christ's Humanity cannot occur.

There are some, says La Puente, who "meditate upon Christ according to the flesh, considering after the flesh (*carnali modo*) all that He did in the flesh, and using figures and images proportioned according to the flesh in order to excite the affections of compassion, tears and sorrow concerning those things which He suffered for us, and to practise in their own flesh like virtues."[3] Others, on the other hand, have advanced so far that they "contemplate Christ, not after the flesh, but after the spirit,"[4] together with His Divine perfections and all the attributes of the Godhead. But whichever of the two ways the mystically-minded Christian may employ, pursues La Puente—*numquam deserendus est Christus.*

> Never must Christ be abandoned in our contemplation, lest in fleeing from Him we flee from the fountain of life and perish from thirst. None will abound in spiritual delights unless he enter by this door, where alone is to be found the Passover of gladness. If, then, Christ has been pleased to raise us to a contemplation denuded of all images and of every created thing, that we may have an insight into His Divinity, let us receive this blessing with a grateful and humble spirit.[5]

This position of La Puente's, as will be seen, is a strictly orthodox and a carefully guarded one, taking us no distance as far as the positions of imaged and imageless

[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. x, chap. 21. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

contemplation in the Mystic Way are concerned. For that matter, if we discuss this question here we are anticipating any account of the Mystic Way that may be presented to us in the *Exposition*. But, in fact, very little is said of the mystic's progression beyond what are the commonplaces of the subject in all literature. There is the progression typified by the three kisses : that of reconciliation, that of greater friendship with increase of grace, and that of the rarely experienced perfection of union.[1] Corresponding to this, we have the familiar classification of contemplatives into beginners, progressives and adepts.[2] Elsewhere we have but suggestions of progression, as in the subjects of contemplation, where the aspirant considers the presence of God successively " by means of the creatures, of the Scriptures and of the images of spiritual things." [3] Or in an application of the *Song of Songs*, iii, 6, ff., where the soul is pictured as coming up out of the wilderness, in which the body has been deprived of companionship and the spirit of its wonted cogitations and affections ; the words which follow in the sacred text, says La Puente, denote " a sublimer ascent through contemplation and prayer, . . . namely, the ascent of the mind to God." [4] And, again, there is not only the progression in which the wilderness leads upward to the hill of Sion, but also that in which " spiritual inebriation is followed by sleep and quiet." [5] This last alternation, and the alternation of sleep and waking,[6] are particularly characteristic of La Puente's *Exposition*. If he presents no single complete conspectus of the mystical life, the idea of progress is always with him.

The progression from meditation, which he sometimes, in Ignatian fashion, terms contemplation, to contemplation proper, is, needless to say, clearly made, and the differences between the two processes are outlined.[7] In one place, with a striking perspicuity

[1] *Expositio*, etc., bk. i, chap. 14.
[2] E.g. *op. cit.*, bk. x, chap. 20.
[3] *Op. cit.*, bk. v, chap. 12.
[4] *Op. cit.*, bk. vi, chap. 18.
[5] *Op. cit.*, bk. viii, chap. 7.
[6] Cant. v, 2.
[7] E.g. *Expositio*, etc., bk. ix, chap. 23. *Cf.* bks. vi, x, *passim*.

of diction which he constantly achieves, both in Spanish and in Latin, he describes the moment when "the fire of love kindles" within the soul as the moment when meditation gives place to contemplation. The achievement of that enkindling is the aim of each meditation, and the problem of when to pass on from meditation solves itself in individual cases with such achievement.[1] Among the many ways of preparing the soul for contemplation and the creation of desire for it, the chief are the active life well lived and constant meditation ("contemplation") of Christ's life on earth and Humanity:[2] meditation with a view not to acquiring knowledge, but to awakening and increasing love. "For knowledge alone suffices not to wound the heart of God, unless it be fruitful, and bring forth many and vehement affections and acts of the will . . . There be many more discourses and meditations concerning God, but the end of them all is to lead to love of Him."[3] *Amor intrat, ubi scientia foris stat.*[4]

Perhaps La Puente's favourite theme in this *Exposition* is that of spiritual sleep, to which in several places he devotes many pages. There is a sleep, he asserts, which is necessary to all prayer, meditation and contemplation, and in which the soul rests from all temporal cares, and from exercises of the active life, in order that it may achieve spiritual recuperation.[5] The recuperation is in itself a justification of this sleep, without which the spiritual faculties become deadened. But the sleep is also desirable intrinsically, for "without any noise the soul is intimately united to God through knowledge and love, rests in Him as in its centre and final goal, and from Him receives new strength."[6] Its occurrence and duration, as we should suppose, are dependent wholly upon the will of God.[7]

[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. ix, chap. 23.

[2] This is the general theme of bk. iii: "De ardenti desiderio supremae contemplationis et dilectionis Dei, et de cognitione sui ipsius aliisque studiosis operibus, quibus pervenitur ad ipsam."

[3] *Op. cit.*, bk. vii, chap. 24.

[4] *Op. cit.*, bk. viii, chap. 7.

[5] *Op. cit.*, bk. iv, chap. 43. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*

The sleep, however, is by no means complete. The inward powers (*potentiae*) are awake. The intellect is contemplating Divine things and listening to "secret words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." The will is awake, "eliciting ardent affections of love." Even the imagination is awake, "forming, or rather receiving, images representing things celestial." Heart, soul, mind and strength, indeed, are awake, and occupied in the love of God as the Gospel commands.[1] It would be hard to find a satisfactory psychological basis for this condition, which appears to be related to that sleep described as co-extensive with the entire life of contemplation.[2] Here we have an almost metaphorical use of the term, which is continued as the exposition just quoted proceeds. There is a sleep, necessary to all contemplatives, "wherein the vices sleep and the virtues keep vigil." And there is "a most perfect sleep, wherein the soul sleeps to all things that are of the senses, and is well-nigh dead to them, that it may contemplate only things heavenly and eternal."[3] This is, it would seem, the state already described, since in it there sleep the "external powers (*potentiae*) and senses," while the "internal faculties (*facultates*), the memory, the intellect and the will," are watchful, and directed towards God.[4]

The sleep of "ecstasy or rapture or vision" is described as being superimposed upon the condition just described. La Puente asks why the sacred writer says: "*I* sleep and my heart waketh," and not "my senses sleep." The answer, he replies, is that there is a sleep in which the internal faculties are also dormant, and to anyone who sees the contemplative in this state it appears that the whole man is asleep. "The soul slumbers wholly, not only as to the senses, but likewise as to the internal faculties. . . . It acts not, but is acted

[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. iv, chap. 43.

[2] *Op. cit.*, bk. viii, chap. 7: "Qui vitae contemplativae vacant, optimum somnium dormiunt, quatenus externis negotiis valedicunt, et consopitis sensibus corde vigilant, caelestium et aeternorum vacantes contemplationi."

[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

upon. It moves not, but is moved by a higher spirit." [1]

In connexion with this ecstatic condition are mentioned two kinds of "revelation"—the intellectual and the imaginary. In both of these God reveals to the soul His secrets and a knowledge of Him which can be attained in no other manner. La Puente's treatment of this question being based upon St. Thomas Aquinas and other authorities, it differs inappreciably from other treatments with which we are already familiar.

In another section of the *Exposition* occurs a general account of the *somnus mysticus* which seems at first not to agree entirely with that given above, but is in reality only superficially unlike it, being based on the pseudo-Dionysius. The distinction between the lower and quasi-metaphorical "sleep"—the *quies et cordis vigilantia*—and the *supernaturalis contemplatio* of ecstasy [2] is not lost: it is merely that the language in which they are referred to is varied. "When," we read, "these (acts) cease by the special grace of God, and the mind with a certain tranquillity and silence is raised to Divine contemplation, then the soul is said to sleep spiritually." [3] This might well be a description of the Prayer of Quiet: it certainly seems to take a position intermediate between the two already described, the more so since it is said to be vouchsafed in some degree to beginners and progressives, as well as to those that are "perfect and complete." [4] But we find later that it is in fact the higher state, "that most perfect contemplation, called by others suspension, ecstasy, rapture or union," in which, without any distraction, whether from without or from within, the soul waits directly upon God alone, and

[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. viii, chap. 7 (§ 5: "De extasi, et somniis supernaturalibus quae immittuntur a Deo").

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Op. cit.*, bk. x, chap. 4.

[4] "Quia incipientibus, proficientibus et perfectis communicatur. Incipientibus quidem aliquando ex speciali privilegio, et fere sine ulla eorum praecedenti industria ut terrena penitus contemnant, et ad sublimiora praeparentur; proficientibus autem propter eorum iuges in Dei obsequio labores, ut fortiores vires recuperent, et amplius proficere satagant: perfectis vero ut supernaturalia praemia praelibent, et laborum suorum fructum ex parte iam capiant" (*ibid.*).

obtains a sublime knowledge of Him, an ardent love and an intimate union." This is the state in which it is wont to receive "great revelations, sacred appearances and intellectual visions," to hear secret words and learn the mysteries of God. There is no doubt a sense in which this "sleep" may be experienced in lower states than the life of Union, if we consider the supernormal phenomena referred to as not a part of it, but as experiences imposed upon it. And, once more, this is the way in which La Puente considers them, since after this general account of the *somnus mysticus* he passes, as before, to an examination of the favours which have been granted only to the greatest and most devout of the mystics.[1]

Like many other writers on the subject, though unlike most Spanish writers, La Puente identifies ecstasy with union.[2] The "kiss of the mouth," which is the summit of contemplation, transcending common laws, and attained to by few, has "effects which are wholly supernatural, such as revelations, miraculous appearances, ecstasy, suspension, jubilation and rapture."[3] There is hardly any suggestion of absorption, deification or transformation of the soul in God. Instead, the soul in union is described as having "familiar communication with God," "reclining in His bosom," "resting in His love," and "receiving from Him manna full of sweetness."[4] Christ "lives in" the soul which has known that "supreme kiss of singular friendship and intimate union,"[5] but the soul loses none of its individuality, as the tone of the following passage testifies :

For Christ lives in the memory, stirring it up lest it should forget Him. He lives in the intellect, and enlightens it, that it

[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. x, chap. 21. It is here (§ 4 : "Mysteriae humanitatis Christi non excludi a mystico somno et suprema contemplatione") that La Puente discusses the subject referred to on p. 329, above.

[2] *Cf.* Poulain (*op. cit.*), chap. 29.

[3] *Op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 14 (§ 2 : "De supremis osculis oris Dei in contemplatione"). If it be objected that ecstasy is here made an "effect" of union, and is not identical with it, other passages can be found in plenty which speak of "ecstasy, rapture or union" as one state—*e.g.*, bk. x, chap. 4, quoted on the preceding page.

[4] *Op. cit.*, bk. vi, chap. 18.

[5] *Op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 14.

may penetrate celestial secrets and hidden mysteries. . . . He lives in the will, enkindling it, that it may become wholly like to fire, mount upward and be immersed in God. He lives in the imagination, directing it, and adorning it with wondrous images representing the Divine secrets.

"In the whole spirit He lives," concludes La Puente, "transforming it in Himself that they may be one." [1] The manner of the transformation, we may add, is not insisted upon, either here or elsewhere in La Puente, but it may be worth pointing out that the description agrees, so far as it goes, with the fuller descriptions given by St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross [2] : the difference is only one of emphasis.

Little, it will be observed, is said in the *Exposition* concerning spiritual sweetness, favours or consolations such as the contemplative may expect at one time or at another to experience. When they are mentioned, it is in passing and without detail : La Puente was not the man to risk holding up false values to his readers or hearers by dwelling upon the pleasant and the easy at the expense of the difficult and the bitter. So, with experiences that are "sweet and gentle, melting, liquefying and enlarging the heart and vehemently enkindling the will" go others that "are terrible, inspiring affright and trembling, or fear or profound reverence and submission of the soul, or other such affections." [3]

V

We have reserved for the final place in this chapter the consideration of some documentary material of the greatest interest, some of which has been made accessible, of recent years, for the

[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 14. *Cf.* a similar passage, less susceptible of translation, where the individuality of the soul is retained even more strikingly, and also the life to come is represented as the true consummation of the mystical life. "In Deo," writes La Puente, his reference being to 1 John iv, 16, and to the Spiritual Marriage, "manet tanquam in domo et lectulo, ubi desideratam invenit quietem ; et Deus etiam in eo tanquam in suo lectulo, ubi cum illo requiescit ; tunc autem celebrantur spirituales nuptiae, quae inchoantur in hac vita per desponsationem in fide et dilectione ; consummantur autem in altera per claram Dei visionem et fruitionem" (*op. cit.*, bk. vi, chap. 24).

[2] Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 190–1, 262–3.

[3] *Op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 14.

first time. In the papers which comprise it, La Puente, writing in the first person, reveals many aspects of his own spiritual life, including experiences which may fairly be called mystical. In addition to these records of his individual progress, he gives us ideas and instructions expounded in language so different from that of his principal works that it cannot be doubted they are evolved from his experience. For all these we may be particularly grateful, since the scientific method and precise style of La Puente are apt to blind one to the depths of sincerity and personal knowledge which lie beneath them.

The *Spiritual Maxims and Sentiments*, first published in 1671,[1] but little known till in 1917 they were re-edited in a volume of handy size,[2] seem to date from their author's prime. Not written for publication, they bear the exceptionally intimate title : " Memorial of certain sentiments and affections, good and bad, which I have myself experienced, and experience still, drawn up that I may humble myself by considering the evil that I find within me, which is great, and profit by the remembrance of such good things as I have ever felt, if any there be." Apart from a few short maxims, not unlike those of St. John of the Cross, the *Memorial* consists of meditations of a personal and informal kind, interspersed with records of experience. Some formal meditations, in both early and late editions, accompany these, and, in the modern edition, there appear a number of unpublished letters, together with a statement on locutions and visions which Cachupin found in fragmentary form among La Puente's papers and incorporated in his biography. From this diversity of material we shall select only that which touches upon our theme, and this may be grouped under the three heads of illumination, union and supernormal physical phenomena.

La Puente leaves us in no doubt that he has himself had personal experience of supernatural illumination. In several places he describes his visitation by " a light

[1] See Bibl., No. 1853. [2] See Bibl., No. 1877.

after the manner of a lightning-flash," [1] and can even generalize as to its nature and effects. First, it comes suddenly, at all sorts of times, and when he is least prepared for it. Secondly, it comes like a flash, "revealing much in an instant, and without any reasoning convinces me completely of the truth of that which it reveals." Thirdly, "it enkindles the will with love of this truth, and, though its power lasts but a moment, there persists in the understanding a residue of it, and a readiness for new reasonings and meditations, which hold it, for an entire day, and even for days together, as though it were in suspension." [2]

This kind of illumination La Puente distinguishes clearly from three other kinds—that which is natural, that which comes from faith,[3] and that which comes from "acquired science." [4] He believes, however, that those who refuse to avail themselves of these three types of illumination, which are within their reach at will, fail to receive the fourth, which comes entirely from God,[5] and at such times as He pleases to bestow it, "during the chanting of psalms, the reading of books, while studying, listening to sermons, working with the hands, at meals, at exercise, and so forth." [6] La Puente describes in detail the mysteries which have been revealed to him during these periods of illumination, and finds continual profit in meditating upon the manner in which God is then present within him, and the greatness of His condescension.[7]

A theme related with this to which La Puente passes is the "various manners in which I have experienced the presence of God both during prayer and at other times." He has seemed to behold Him "not with the eyes of the body, nor with a clear light, yet not simply by the use of the reason; but in a particular manner wherein the soul feels that it has before it, or within it,

[1] Elías Reyero: *Obras espirituales póstumas*, etc. (Bibl., No. 1877), p. 37.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 39.
[3] To this, presumably, the "inward jubilation" described on p. 77 would belong.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 53.
[5] *Ibid.* "No la tengo a mi mandar."
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 54.
[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 39–40, 54–5.

One with Whom to speak, and One that both hears and understands it ; whereat it prays and speaks more powerfully and more attentively. It is as though one man were with another, and the light were suddenly put out so that they remained in darkness. Without seeing him, hearing him, or perceiving any bodily movement, the man feels his companion to be present, and speaks to him as to one who is with him." [1]

This and similar testimony is still intensely personal, but, when we come to the theme of union, the subjective note is no longer heard. There are three manners of union. The first, which is strictly limited in its scope, is through " speculative knowledge, meditation and discourse of the understanding." [2] The second is neither purely speculative nor wholly experimental : it is a kind of potential union, " a realization with lively faith of the facility with which the omnipotence of God can enter within me and do with my powers (*potencias*) that which He wills." [3] This brings " a sudden quietude of the imagination and memory in the midst of a thousand matters ; a sudden illumination of the understanding when it has passed through much deception and darkness ; and a sudden peace after the fiercest strife with temptation." [4] It is beyond this point that we seem to part company with experience. The highest kind of union " must be ineffable " [5] ; yet this union, as La Puente conceives it, has not the completeness of that which he has described elsewhere. It inspires a man " to do heroic acts in God," and " to suffer the most grievous trials." It makes him " *omnipotent* through participation in all the virtues of God." [6] In the adjective, indeed, is enshrined the superlative of the soul's transformation ; but at once the author passes from this theme to another and shows no disposition to make explicit what he has hardly done more than suggest.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 47. *Cf.* p. 323, above.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 50.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 51.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.* " Debe de ser inenarrable "—the personal note has gone.
[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 51–2.

Later in his meditations La Puente returns to the subject of union, and after making a threefold division similar to, but by no means identical with, the former one, he gives us a sincere little piece of autobiography concerning the third degree of union, which he terms "super-supernatural" and "proper to the most intimate friends of God." [1]

> Once I felt great inward jubilation with the mere hope that I might rise to this third manner of union, which I imagined as follows. I thought that the soul rose above the earth and the heavens, and above all created things, until it was united with God at a supernatural height, and having once attained to this height, it despised all the good things of earth . . . possessing God Himself, the Giver of them all.[2]

From this testimony it is sufficiently clear that La Puente had not, when he wrote these meditations, experienced the highest state of the mystical life, nor even envisaged it as clearly as some of his greatest predecessors. None the less, his "exercise for mounting from one degree to another even to the apex of contemplation" [3] is full of profit. There are six of such degrees. The first is humility; the second, self-abnegation and detachment; the third, confident prayer for present illumination and eventual infinite union. The fourth degree is that of "conformity, increasing daily," between Lover and Beloved, a continual growth in virtue, and "a following of Christ as close as is the following of a body by its shadow.[4] The fifth degree is a "loving adherence to God and His good pleasure . . . persisting until God Himself is pleased to raise the soul higher." Between this and the sixth degree, which consists in "a continual giving of thanks to the Lord," [5] must apparently be placed the reception of some kind of supernatural experience, though the author does not say what this is, and in the whole of this description of the contemplative life there is no other mention of the part played by the supernatural.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 72. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 73.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 74. [5] *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

Though he is careful, in this personal record, to avoid entering into great detail on the subject of union, La Puente has left an apparently first-hand description of a number of locutions and visions of the type called "imaginary"[1] "vouchsafed to a certain person," who is generally taken as being himself, and written for inclusion in the *Exposition of the Song of Songs*, though not in fact therein included.[2]

The experiences[3] have in general certain common characteristics. They are related in narrative form, including scraps of dialogue, and considerable descriptive detail, which make them somewhat reminiscent of the dream or the vision in trance or rapture which lasts over a period of time. They are closely related, as a rule, to certain Biblical passages or episodes, or, if not, it is at least made clear that they have followed upon some meditation the nature of which is outlined. Further, their meaning or significance is generally expounded for the edification of the reader.

A vision typical, in all these respects, of the rest, is that in which the subject hears a knocking at the door of his house, sees the visitor to be Christ, and runs to open to Him. But He has already gone "some eighty paces," and, though the narrator pursues Him, will not stay.

> Then Christ our Lord, turning very gently, said to him: "Peace, be not wearied, for I go but slowly and thou wilt overtake me." Then that person took new heart, and ran, and caught Him, and, prostrate at His feet, seized them and said: "My Lord and my Good, I cannot let Thee go. Take me whither Thou goest." Then he thought that Christ looked at him and said: "Nay, thou canst not walk so far, for I go a great way and the road is rough." And that person answered, "My Lord, what hardship can there be, howsoever rough the road, if I go with Thee?" And thus he felt within himself.
>
> So he loosed one foot and seized the other with both hands very firmly, crossing his arms so as to grasp it the better. "Now, Lord," he said, "go where Thou wilt, only let me not part from

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 217: "Verdades descubiertas a cierta persona en visiones imaginarias y por vía de comparaciones y semejanzas sensibles." For the term "imaginary," cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 193–6.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 215.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 217–26.

Thee, and naught shall afflict or weary me." Then he seemed to see many and great ravines, steep hillsides and stony places, and a road most solitary and lone. And he knew that he would be caught in those ravines, and, if he were bound to the feet of Christ our Lord, would be dragged through them and his knees would be torn to the point of blood. Yet none of this made him fearful or cowardly, but rather he thought that he would not return home, nor exchange this path for all the riches or delights of the world. And from time to time he said to the Lord : " On, Lord, and let me not leave Thee or be parted from Thee, nor let my trials weary Thee, for, though my suffering be intolerable to me, I cannot leave Thee." And thus he felt within his heart with an incomparable joy, for it seemed to him that to have Christ our Lord with him far outweighed the evil of all the tempests and trials of the world put together.[1]

This example makes clearer than any explanation could do the peculiarly intimate nature of these records of visions and locutions. If we add to it the paragraph following, in which La Puente describes it as glossing Cant. v, 2, 5, 6 ; iii, 4 ; i, 3, and Matt. xvi, 24,[2] we have the unescapable feeling that he is either recording his visions from memory after a long interval, or is elaborating them in order to edify his readers. Since they were being reported in order to form part of a didactic work—the title lays emphasis, not upon the " visions " but on the " truths " they teach[3]—it is possible that there may be truth in both suppositions.

It is disappointing to find that La Puente says next to nothing here (and very little elsewhere) about visions and locutions in general, for it would have been interesting to compare the deductions drawn by him from his experiences with the very long and definite deductions which were drawn from not wholly similar experiences by St. Teresa. One general statement, however, he does make, in the form of a similitude which conveys homely but admirable advice in picturesque language.

A person who enjoyed many imaginary visions in prayer, together with revelations and locutions, and doubted whether or

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 221–2. [2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 222–3.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 217. *Cf.* p. 341, n. 1, above.

no they were of God, was greatly afflicted thereat, but heard the following counsel in prayer : "When thou art given a branch laden with fruit, such as cherries,[1] what thou dost is to pluck the fruit in order to eat it or conserve it and to throw the branch from thee. Wherefore pluck thou even so the fruit of all these visions and revelations whereof thou art doubtful, which fruit is in the truths, affections and desires which they bring thee for the reformation of thy life ; and throw from thee the branch, which is the vision itself, paying no heed thereto, be it what it may. So doing, thou shalt have peace, and be freed from errors." [2]

[1] Lit. *guindas*, mazard cherries.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

CHAPTER XII

POST-TERESAN MYSTICISM: JUAN FALCONI

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I

Juan Falconi, one of the most interesting figures in the history of Spanish mysticism, was born on March 24, 1596, at Fiñana, a little town south of Guadix in the province of Granada. During the early years of his life, his father, a native of Toledo and by profession a lawyer, lived in a number of places in the province,—among others in the capital, Granada, where the boy spent about three years as a student. He had probably been intended for his father's career, but, manifesting at an exceptionally early age a vocation for the religious life, he was allowed by him, though rather unwillingly, to take the habit of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy on April 11, 1611, at the Mercedarian convent at Madrid, whither the family had just removed. Though only fifteen years of age at this time, he professed in 1612, and was sent to study at Salamanca, in the College of the True Cross (Vera Cruz) of his Order there.[1] Thence he went to Segovia, where he was in due course ordained and became lecturer in theology at his convent. Later he held similar posts at Valladolid and at the College of the Conception at Alcalá de Henares.

The academic career of a theological teacher seems to have appealed to him as little, or to have been thought as little suitable for him, as was the case with Tomás de Jesús. When he left Alcalá, it was to return to the convent of his profession at Madrid, in order to devote himself to the work of a confessor. In this he was eminently successful, and, if we can believe the extant biographies and other contemporary testimony, he had unusual gifts of prophecy and healing. It was also chiefly

[1] A manuscript entry, procured for me by P. Guillermo Vázquez, shows that he entered the College in the session 1615–16.

while at Madrid that he studied and began to write on mystical theology.

His works can hardly be said to have appeared at all before his death ; for he died, in his convent at Madrid, on May 31, 1638, at the age of forty-two, and the only edition of any of his books earlier in date than this seems to have been a now little-known one of 1637.[1] It was not till 1660, the year in which the first collected edition of his works was published, that they began to be popular, but in the following five-and-twenty years he became famous, and even after three of his books, in their Italian translations, were placed on the Index,[2] one of them, and various of his other books, both singly and in collected editions, continued to be published in Spain throughout the eighteenth century.[3] In 1665 we find an appreciation of him as one of " the clearest, most fervent and most erudite exponents " of mystical themes, by a writer who asserts that he [Falconi] " had first enjoyed [mystical] experiences from the inaccessible sun, the infinite God." [4]

In view of the discussion as to the orthodoxy of Falconi's teaching in which we shall shortly engage, it may be as well to set down two facts before going farther. First, no suggestion has ever been seriously made that Falconi was not in his own life all that a priest should be. P. Dudon, whose strictures on Molinos are severe enough to make him an irrefutable witness if he speaks well of Falconi, leaves no doubt whatever on this point. " Falconi," he says, " était sans conteste un homme de Dieu ; ses intentions étaient pures, sa vie durement

[1] Bibl., No. 1934.

[2] The following entries appear on the Index under date April 1, 1688 :

Falconi, Giovanni. Alfabeto per saper leggere in Christo, libro de vita eterna, tradotto dalla lingua spagnuola nell' italiana. (*Cf.* pp. 350, ff., below.)

Lettera scritta ad una figliuola spirituale, nella quale l'insegna il più puro e perfetto spirito dell' oratione. (*Cf.* p. 357, below.)

Lettera scritta ad un religioso in difesa del modo d'oratione in pura fede da lui insegnato. (*Cf.* p. 357, below.)

[3] Bibl., Nos. 1928–33, 1939, 1941. Reference to these entries will show that they cover nearly the whole century.

[4] *Obras*, ed. 1783. " Elogio," dated Jan. 18, 1665.

crucifiée, son imitation des vertus du Sauveur fort active." Second, there was at the time of his death no suspicion of unorthodoxy attaching to him, nor can anything in the 1637 edition alluded to be interpreted in that sense, save with considerable difficulty. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that one who had died (as Nicolás Antonio puts it) " cum insigni sanctitatis fama," [1] was made, all but immediately, the subject of a process for beatification.

The process was unsuccessful, but the manuscript account of it, which we have been enabled to examine by the kindness of the Mercedarian Fathers of Madrid, affords interesting corroboration of the two points which we have made above. One witness (Fray Diego del Peso) actually quotes from Falconi's works in proof of his orthodoxy as well as of his spirituality. Others testify to his gifts as a confessor : " he had a very particular talent in laying bare and purifying souls." [2] A further group of witnesses stress the importance which he attached to the daily imitation of Jesus Christ :

He counselled [his penitents] to follow Christ and to mortify in themselves all self-will and self-affection.[3]

He would say that the greatest perfection consisted in the closest imitation of Our Lord.[4]

He taught that the souls he directed should live in this life in union with God.[5]

The hint of mystical teaching in the last excerpt is amplified here and there into something very much more definite :

He would set souls upon the road to perfection, giving them instructions for the practice of mental prayer. And when he recognized that Our Lord God desired to raise them from meditation to contemplation of the Divine mysteries, he had the greatest skill and facility in dealing with them, although his continual exhortation in the matter of prayer was that all should place themselves, in faith, in the presence of God.[6]

[1] *Bibliotheca hispana nova* (Madrid, 1783–8), vol. i, p. 688.
[2] Fray Ambrosio de Abreu.
[3] Doña Aldonza de Castilla.
[4] Doña Ana de Cabrera.
[5] Sor María Magdalena.
[6] Doña Aldonza de Castilla.

II

In conformity with the delimitation of the scope and length of these studies previously made, the principal task of this chapter will be to review the works of Falconi without attempting a formal synthesis of his doctrines, or tracing them back, in any detail, to such Spanish writers as may have inspired them. The statement that Falconi is "generally recognized as the father of quietism," made by an agreed authority on general recognitions,[1] will not here be discussed, though in the preceding chapters of this volume is to be found some of the material on which will be based a future consideration of this difficult and complicated theme.

The book which Falconi published during his lifetime (Barcelona, 1637)[2] is entitled *A Primer whereby we may learn to read in Christ the book of eternal life*.[3] This is one of the works condemned by Rome in its Italian version (published in 1665), but it seems likely that the condemnation was a precautionary measure, taken either because Falconi was quoted with approval by Molinos, or because of the connexion with the *Primer* of two very unorthodox opuscules which we shall discuss in the next section.[4] In the first collected edition of Falconi's works (Valencia, 1660) was included a second *Primer*, which we shall consider here together with its predecessor.

Both *Primers* are quite frankly manuals of devotion, couched in a style at once simple and direct, as befits works intended mainly for penitents. Their sentences and paragraphs are short; their illustrations few, but effective; and their arguments, being in no way involved, can be followed with the greatest facility.

The earlier *Primer* has the sub-title "whereby beginners may easily and briefly learn to pray," and is

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13th edition, art. "Quietism." The 14th edition, which appears as this book is passing through the press, substitutes "reckoned" for "recognized."

[2] Bibl., No. 1934.

[3] Known briefly in Spanish as the *Cartilla*, and in Italian as the *Alfabeto*.

[4] All three had been published in one volume in Rome, 1680 (*cf.* Bibl., No. 1948).

described as being " for all . . . since none may excuse himself from prayer, whatever be his estate, office or condition." It contains little of interest, the author's aim being only to commend and to facilitate the practices of vocal prayer and of meditation on the mysteries of the life of Christ. By mental prayer, from which, he says, some flee as children flee from the bogey-man (*el coco*),[1] he here understands the " prayer of meditation," [2] and, after describing this, he adds :

> Now seest thou in summary form . . . what it is to have mental prayer ; and to this we have reduced that which is commonly taught in great books, in rules and instructions, that thou mayest see how easy it is.[3]

The phrase " how easy it is " strikes a note which is repeated again and again in the works both of Falconi and Molinos. It is therefore worth while drawing attention to it at this early stage in our survey of Falconi's writings. The other principal and noteworthy feature of this *Primer* is its considerable, though never slavish, employment of five Spanish authorities,—St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Thomas of Villanueva, Fray Luis de Granada, St. Teresa and P. Suárez.

The second and more advanced *Primer*, not published till twenty-two years after Falconi's death, gives instructions for " reading easily in Christ," " resolving the difficulties which are wont to present themselves to those who cannot meditate successfully and for this cause give up prayer." [4] It contains three books, or *tratados*, of which the second is the most important.

In the first, those unable to meditate are reminded that " the ways of God are many " and that meditation is not possible for all. On the authority of St. Teresa, they are further reminded that some are called to contemplation and not to meditation.[5] Since this is a matter of vocation, it is useless to strive against it.

[1] Falconi, *Obras*, ed. 1676 (Bibl., No. 1926), vol. i, p. 249.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 261.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 266.
[4] *Cartilla*, etc., sub-title.
[5] Falconi, *Obras*, ed. 1676 (Bibl., No. 1926), vol. i, p. 351.

Meditation may to some extent be attained by our own industry, but contemplation is a gift of God.

The object of the second book is to reassure those who " think that they do nothing in prayer but meditate and be devoutly minded," [1] and to set forth " how many are the things that they do in making remembrance of Christ and surrendering themselves to His Divine will." [2] Even at its times of greatest aridity, when quite unable to meditate, the soul is believing in its Master, hoping in Him and loving Him,—in other words, practising Faith, Hope and Charity. In brief, maxim-like exhortations, the soul is urged never for a moment to abandon prayer.

> If thou canst not ask, are the hands of God tied, that He cannot give ?
>
> If thou hast no words wherewith to give Him thanks, give Him thy heart.[3]

The most homely illustrations point the truth that eloquent words and sublime thoughts are of less moment than loyalty and love. Nor are " feelings " of much significance as signs of progress in prayer ; we may sow our seed, like the husbandman, in October, and not reap the fruits till August.[4]

This line of thought, probably derived in part, though not admittedly so, from St. Teresa, leads Falconi very naturally to distinguish between ceasing temporarily and permanently from meditation, and hence to a condemnation of the *alumbrados*, whose " ease " (*ocio*) is " a rest after the flesh, a seeking of their own pleasure and in no way a seeking of God." [5] This is to be contrasted both with the cessation from spiritual exercises which comes from a transitory cause and with the " supernatural quietness wherein the soul waits upon God and with a loving readiness resigns itself into His hands that He may do with it what He will." [6] So important from the historical standpoint is this distinc-

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 352. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 353.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 357. [5] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 365. [6] *Ibid.*

tion, coupled with the fact that Falconi makes it,[1] drawing largely upon the writings of Ruysbroeck and the testimony of the *alumbrado* Juan Francisco de Villalba, that some longer quotations will not be superfluous.

First, he describes the ideals and doctrines of the *alumbrados*.

> Their whole aim was to obtain rest, enjoyment and pleasure for their carnal appetites. . . . They endeavoured to keep themselves idle (*ociosos*), unoccupied and free from any outward or inward act, whether of the body or of the soul, and thus they would neither give heed to God with the understanding, nor make remembrance of Him with the memory, nor love Him with the will . . . but they desired to be in a state of suspension, ease (*ocio*) and quiet (*quietud*), which in its nature is diabolical and vain.
>
> Nor would they perform inwardly any good act or virtuous exercise or work of charity ; nor would they suffer any mortification, or aught that could be an anxiety or a trial, fleeing always from any action that was in the nature of a cross. . . .
>
> And to such a degree was this carried . . . that they said they must indulge any dishonest and evil desire to which their nature prompted them, in order to avoid the loss of quiet and the affliction which resistance to it would cause them.[2]

In this way, continues Falconi, the *alumbrados* sought ease, abandonment and rest for their own natures under pretext of seeking quiet. "What," he enquires, "has this to do with that which is taught in the way of contemplation and of belief in Christ which we have expounded ?"

> For in this last the first thing set down is that the soul must be wholly occupied inwardly in waiting upon God with understanding, memory and will ; for even though it meditate not it ceases not to direct a simple regard (*sencilla vista*) and act of faith to Christ our Good (*Cristo nuestro bien*). Believing itself to be in His presence, it continues to love Him without ceasing, desiring that which He desires and resigning itself wholly to His Divine will. Its acts of faith and love cease not at all during the whole

[1] *Cartilla* 2ª, etc., chaps. 13–14 : "Respóndese a los que vanamente temen que se parece el no meditar al ocio de los alumbrados."

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 366–7.

time of its prayer, and the soul is never idle, nor ever ceases to work, since, as we have already seen, it is performing acts of faith, hope and love, fortitude, patience and all the other virtues, and is suffering a continual death as to its own nature, thus voluntarily mortifying its sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, imagination and all its corporal appetites, making a complete sacrifice to God of its willing and its nilling, of its nature and its desire, crucifying the flesh, sparing neither the knees nor the rest of the body, grudging neither weariness nor discomfort that it may be with God, resigned to His most holy will, imitating its Master Jesus Christ, following in His steps and suffering His Passion, as we have already explained.[1]

Falconi then draws a formal and most emphatic contrast between *alumbrismo* and orthodox mysticism.

Who cannot see that that which they said and did was foulness and impurity itself, and that this other which is here described is purity and perfection? That that other which has been here described was disobedience to God, to His Church, commandments and will, and that this is complete obedience to God and to His most holy will? The one was total submission to the appetites of the flesh; the other is a total crucifixion of them. The one was to flee from the Cross of Christ; the other is to seek, love and embrace it. The one was to flee from Christ and seek self; the other is to flee from self and seek Christ. The one was to attain to complete ease (*ocio*) within, yet making no act of faith, hope or love; the other is a continual succession of interior acts, of belief in Christ, of waiting ever upon Him, of hoping in Him and loving His will.[2]

This emphatic antithesis is followed by an elaborate statement of a similar nature, adapted and in part translated from Ludovicus Blosius, and by a reference to a sermon by Tauler in support of the same argument.

The third book of this *Primer* aims at proving "that the absence of argument is compensated for by resignation to the will of God."[3] In the second book, unorthodoxy may possibly be deduced or inferred from an occasional phrase, but there is hardly a case for anything further—indeed, on the contrary, its main

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 367–8.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 368.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 370.

argument is strikingly orthodox. It is in the third book, if anywhere, that the heterodox teaching is to be sought which a later generation seems to have found in the *Primer*, for though St. Ignatius of Loyola and Luis de Granada are quoted in support of its teaching, much of which is beyond reproach, great, perhaps dangerously great, insistence is laid upon the soul's passivity. Speculation and knowledge are of less importance than love,[1] Falconi tells us—and many of his predecessors had said the same. But what is love? "Conformity with the Divine will," he replies, "the desire that it may be done in all things and total resignation to it."[2] Phrases like the following, which abound, are, though capable in their context of a perfectly orthodox explanation, equally liable to receive an interpretation which is quite the contrary.

> Desire naught, and naught will afflict thee.[3]
>
> The best way to ask, and to pray, is to resign oneself into the will of God.[4]
>
> By resignation of itself the soul walks all the day long in prayer and in the presence of God.[5]
>
> As soon as we wake, and all the day long, we must walk in total resignation and wholly in the will of God.[6]

Again, the "epilogue and summary of this whole *Primer*,"[7] which explains "what it is in substance to pray," describes this "substance" as "the taking of two distinct hours, signing thyself at the beginning with the cross, making an act of contrition and resigning thyself into the hands of Our Lord, that He may do with thee and with thine affairs what best pleases Him."[8] So much, standing alone, might possibly be considered an approach to dangerous teaching, but the remainder of the summary recommends that this should be followed by meditation on the Passion, and by a resolution of amendment of life based upon it, or, at the very least,

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, chap. i: "Que este negocio del orar más consiste en amar y resignarse en Dios que en meditar en él."
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 372.
[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 380. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 383.
[8] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 383–4.

by an act of faith. And the soul is to persevere in this and in other pious acts even if it feels itself to be making little progress.[1]

Published together with the first *Primer*, in the editions of 1660 and later years, and designed as a sequel to it, is a series of meditations on the Divine attributes, forming a book of twenty-eight chapters called *The Incomprehensible and Divine Life of God*.[2] In a sub-title this is described as treating of "His infinite perfection and the occupations of His Omnipotence," and containing instructions "for reading the life of God in that of Christ." Its preface explains that, though much has been written upon the perfections of God, it is of a nature which makes it chiefly suitable for the learned. There are, in the vernacular, books upon the earthly life of Christ, dealing, however, less with His Deity than with His Humanity. This treatise aims at opening up to the unlearned its vast subject of the attributes of God and at providing meditations which follow naturally upon the argument of the first *Primer*. It is followed by a *Treatise on Prayer* of twenty-one chapters which is perfectly orthodox and contains no ideas that merit special consideration in this survey.

A brief work called the *Treasury of the Mercies of God*,[3] which appears only in collected editions of Falconi's works later than that of 1660, consists of a series of monologues or prayers to God put into the mouth of a sinner, concerned almost wholly with sin and forgiveness and at times rising to a pitch of eloquence not often occurring in the works of Falconi. A considerably longer and somewhat erudite treatise on the Sacrament of the Altar, called *Our Daily Bread*,[4] was included in the edition of 1660, has appeared in all subsequent editions and is still read to-day. Written, according to its own account, for the "unlearned

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 383–4.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 283–342.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 385–429.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 430–529. An opuscule of only five pages appended to this work (pp. 529–34) is called *Mementos de la Misa, y modo muy importante de ofrecerla.* It may best be regarded as an appendix to the *Pan Nuestro de cada dia.*

reader," it is nevertheless full of citations from the Fathers and also from contemporary writers, all of them being made in Spanish. Tauler and Gerson both reappear, and, of Spaniards, Luis de Granada, Francisco Suárez and Luis de la Puente. The special direction given to the book in its second part is that of frequent, even daily, communion, which the author strongly urges. It is "less unfitting to communicate with little devotion than to fail to communicate." [1] Throughout, Falconi goes as far as is possible without impropriety or undue exaggeration in urging his argument. Not without reason he has long been known in Spain as an "apostle of daily communion." [2]

III

More important than the *Primers* of Falconi are the two shorter works which, undoubtedly because of the nature of their teaching, were placed on the Index with them. The first of these is called *Letter written to a spiritual daughter, wherein the writer teaches her the purest and most perfect spirit of prayer.* The second is a *Letter to a religious in defence of the manner of prayer in pure faith taught by the writer.* We quote both in their Italian versions, considerable search in all the libraries enumerated in the preface to this book having failed to reveal the Spanish original of either, or even conclusive evidence that such was ever printed.

The *Letter to a spiritual daughter* is described on the title-page of its Italian translation (Rome, 1673) as having been published first in Madrid in 1657 : it is dated from that city on July 23, 1628, when its author was only thirty-two years of age. Prefaced by four approbatory certificates, dated from Rome in 1671, it was evidently, like Molinos' *Spiritual Guide*, by no means allowed to pass without the most careful scrutiny. It has also a brief, unsigned prefatory note, which may

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 447.

[2] *Cf.* P. Ramón Serratosa, in the report of the 22nd International Eucharistic Congress, Madrid, 1911, p. 485.

be the work of the translator, warning its readers that "since the author's intention in the letter was to instruct a person who had already entered upon the way of prayer and was advanced therein, the reader must not suppose it to be necessarily applicable to himself, but . . . must take counsel with a person experienced in the interior way." [1]

The letter being only a little over three thousand words in length, it is not difficult to summarize its essential teaching. The correspondent, who is "growing daily in perfection," is advised to "restrain in [her] prayer all that concerns the operation of the senses." Placing herself in the presence of God, she is to make an act of faith and an act of resignation.[2]

> This done, do thou, like a person who no longer possesses anything, remain in repose and quiet silence, thinking of set purpose upon naught whatsoever, not even though it be good and sublime, save that thou hast this pure faith in God and art resigned to His Divine will.[3]

This is not idleness, he goes on, for it implies the exercise of the three theological virtues, together with those of justice, prudence, fortitude, humility, liberality —"indeed, almost all the virtues." "No tongue can express the great good which is contained in this humble, pure and true manner of praying in silence and with resignation." [4]

It must be understood by the person addressed that she is not to "busy herself at this time [of prayer] in considering that God is present within her soul . . . for this would be to imagine Him after a finite manner, and not to believe Him purely and simply. Further, it would be to do great wrong, in a certain manner, to this infinite greatness." [5] Still less is she to consider *how* He is present; or if she is recollected; or if her prayer is good or ill: any of these reasonings would "break the thread of perfect prayer," [6] would draw the

[1] *Lettera scritta*, etc., Rome, 1673 (Bibl., No. 1949): Avvertimento.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 4–5. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 5. [4] *Op. cit.*, p. 7.
[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 9–10. [6] *Ibid.*

soul from that *profondo niente* in which it is immersed more or less completely.

In order to forget thyself, do thou immerse thyself in the pure and obscure faith of the Divinity. For thou wilt never be safer or more greatly profited than when thou seemest to be lost and reduced to naught. . . . In that profound nothingness, where the senses have no part, the Devil cannot enter or put his hand.[1]

The nature of this process Falconi attempts to explain by a similitude, "inferior to the reality" but sufficiently graphic to clarify his exposition :

Imagine thyself as taking from the sea a little fish and placing it in a glass full of water. Thou delightest to see it swim, but the poor little fish is ever in peril of being caught and ill treated. But take that little fish and cast it into the sea, where it will disappear, and be lost from sight so that thou shalt never see it more. That little fish is quite submerged, yet who shall say that it has ever been safer and in better keeping than now, when it appears to be lost ? Even so, if thou submerge, and, so to say, drown thyself in the obscure faith of God, thou wilt perchance believe thyself to be lost with respect to that which thou understandest and apprehendest, but nevertheless thou wilt never have had greater profit or greater security from all peril and all deception of the devil.[2]

This "immersion" is not an exercise to be practised occasionally, but the normal manner of prayer. "I would," says Falconi, in words afterwards adapted and quoted by Molinos, "that every day, every week, every year and all thy life long, thou shouldst make this continuous act of contemplation, in faith and in love, in a manner as pure and as spiritual as possible . . . and that, having once surrendered and resigned thyself to the Divine will . . . thy hours of prayer should not be filled with fresh acts but should merely continue that first act of faith and love already made."[3]

There will be little necessity to commit thyself anew to God, having done so already ; just as, if thou shouldst give a jewel to a friend of thine, there is no necessity, after committing it to her hand, to go and repeat to her daily : "Madam, I give thee this jewel. Madam, I give thee this jewel." Thou leavest it where

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 12–13. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 13. [3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

it is, and takest it not away again ; and for so long as thou takest it not away it will be clear that thou hast given it to her and continuest thy gift.[1]

" Just so," continues Falconi, " is it in our case. When once thou hast lovingly resigned and surrendered thyself into the will of the Lord, thou must do naught but continue therein, and abstain from making new acts and repetitions of the affections of the senses which impede the continuous purity of the spiritual act of the will." [2]

The most important thing of all, he adds, is " not to take from God the gift thou hast given Him, by committing any grave sin [3] against His will ; for, so long as this comes not to pass, He still has that which thou hast committed to Him.[4] Few, says Falconi, arrive at " so high a degree of faith " as to make this possible. " That great man, Gregorio López," [5] is held up as a striking example of one who arrived at it. " His life was one continuous prayer and one continuous act of contemplation and love toward God and his neighbour. He seemed rather to be a seraph incarnate than a man of flesh." [6] And Gregorio López, after attaining to this " continuous act of faith and loving resignation," never again made even a " brief ejaculatory prayer or anything else that had to do with the senses." [7]

The letter closes with a reminder of how often spiritual persons have erred through their experiences of sweetness in prayer (*nelle loro dolcezze*), " bringing themselves to believe that these sprang from a pure love of God, whereas they came in reality from a pure love of self." [8] In its brief course, it quotes a number of acknowledged masters of the spiritual life : St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Thomas,

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 15–16. *Cf.* Molinos, *Guía espiritual*, I, xiii.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Alcuna cosa grave* : the word *grave* and its significance should be pondered here.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

[5] *Cf.* Paul Dudon, *Le Quiétiste Espagnol, Michel Molinos* (Paris, 1921), pp. 23–4, and Molinos, *Guía espiritual*, I, xvii.

[6] *Lettera scritta*, etc., *ed. cit.*, p. 17. [7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 17–18.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

Cassian, Richard of St. Victor, St. Peter of Alcántara (the eighth *aviso*, or maxim, of the *Treatise of Prayer and Meditation*).[1] It cites also, as an example of this kind of prayer, the highest authority of all—namely, Christ's prayer of resignation in the Garden of Gethsemane. Nevertheless, the writer of the letter nowhere adduces the support of any of his authorities for the whole of his doctrine of "immersion." Most of them refer either to some one part of it or to contemplation as understood in one of its traditional senses. It is doubtful, indeed, from the tone of this letter, how far Falconi would have claimed authoritative support for his doctrine. He writes in anything but an apologetic manner, nor does he seem to be expounding a theory which he has deduced or adapted from the writings of others. His manner is that of the experimentalist rather than of the schematic mystic. However mistaken we may believe him to be, we cannot fail either to respect and admire his deep sincerity, or to be impressed with his tone of authority.

It will probably not be disputed that in the *Letter to a spiritual daughter* we have the first clear exposition, though in an unemphatic form, of the quietistic doctrine of the suppression of acts which we have as yet encountered in these *Studies*. The other writings of Falconi already reviewed may possibly be thought to fringe this or that aspect of quietism, while some of his predecessors, in their treatment of the subject of quiet, lay themselves open to different interpretations. But this *Letter*, recommending the suppression of every act save one and thus advancing definitely into heterodoxy, marks a point of great historical importance, which is increased by the fact that we have a second opuscule, dated in the year following (1629), and containing further proof that Falconi was straying from the path of true mysticism.

The *Letter to a religious*, dated July 25, 1629, differs in several respects from the *Letter to a spiritual daughter*.

[1] *Cf.* p. 113, above.

It bears no certificates of approbation, but only a simple *imprimatur*; the translation into Italian having been printed so soon (1674) after that of the earlier *Letter*, it was apparently thought unnecessary to subject it to the same careful scrutiny. As to its general character, the *Letter to a religious* is highly polemical in its self-defence and also studiously documented,[1] facts which the forthcoming description of it will reveal so unmistakably that illustration at this point is unnecessary. As well as this difference in tone between the two letters there is a difference in style. The *Letter to a religious* is much less direct than its predecessor. It leaves its main points and returns to them again unsystematically; its arguments are unskilfully knit together and sometimes are by no means easy to follow. For this reason we shall not follow the letter point by point, but summarize its main contentions.

The first pages are largely concerned with the relations between meditation and contemplation, a subject on which the greatest Spanish mystics had expressed themselves with unusual clarity. Falconi quotes from them freely (as he does throughout this letter), bringing forward, for example, St. John of the Cross, St. Peter of Alcántara and the Carmelite José de Jesús María[2] as witnesses on the question of when beginners should pass from the earlier to the later exercise. It should be observed in the first place that he asserts with great emphasis that in his method of mental prayer "all beginners without exception" are trained in "meditation upon the Passion of Our Redeemer."[3] This is an

[1] Apart from the quotations from old and modern writers in the text of the *Letter*, there are several pages (pp. 55–67) corresponding to more than one-sixth of the whole, which consist of Latin quotations amplifying those in the text.

[2] It will be noted how frequently Falconi's quotations in this letter are from Discalced Carmelite authors. From pp. 49–50 we assume that the religious to whom the letter is addressed was a Discalced Carmelite: "Miri adesso come chiaramente glielo dice il Padre Frà Gioseppe di Giesù Maria del suo medesimo ordine de' scalzi. . . ."

[3] *Lettera scritta . . . ad un religioso*, p. 4: "Poiche per prima pongo universalmente tutti principianti nella meditatione della Passione del Nostro Redentore." *Cf.* p. 10: "Io confesso, che da principio hanno da meditare per arrivare a contemplare."

important link between Falconi's system and the practice of earlier teachers. "I tell them," he continues, "to persevere in these meditations for so long a time as seems to me necessary—that is, until they are able to pass to contemplation. In this matter no one rule can be observed in all cases, for some will need to meditate longer than others." [1]

Falconi follows closely the counsel of St. John of the Cross in judging the stage at which meditation should be left for contemplation,[2] and proceeds, on the authority of "St. Thomas and all the mystics," [3] to give directions for the making of the change and a description of the higher state:

> When it is time to pass to contemplation, I tell them to do it after this manner. They are to place themselves in the presence of God, believing God to be present and immanent everywhere. They must have a general notice of living faith, and resign themselves into His hands, trusting in Him as in a Father, so that He may do His will with them and with all things that are theirs. In this manner let them persevere in that act of living faith and of resignation, and if they are distracted by vain thoughts let them drive these away gently and take no heed thereof. And if, further, they are troubled by aridity and temptations, and think that they are doing nothing, let them hold still to their faith and resignation without discourse or meditation soever. For this is contemplation,—that is to say, a simple and pure regard of the object.[4]

A parallel description, which occurs a little later in the letter, may be compared with this.

> The soul . . . places itself before God, and enters His presence with intent that in all things His Divine will may be done. It contrives to reject all thoughts of the creatures, desiring naught else than the will of God. For so long as it withdraws not from that intent, but remains waiting upon God with faith, and loving Him with the will, though it has no sensible apprehension thereof . . . for so long as it has no desire for aught else, it is still loving the object borne in its intention—namely, God.[5]

Here, then, we have an account of the "contemplation" which, in 1629, Falconi was inculcating in the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 4. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 5. Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 248–52.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 6. [4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 5–6. [5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 20–1.

" many in Madrid " who, he says, became " well rooted therein." [1] It is this contemplation which he substitutes for the whole extent of mystic experience higher than meditation, for all St. Teresa's inner Mansions and the higher slopes of St. John of the Cross' Mount Carmel. And apparently it gives him perfect and complete satisfaction.

If, however, Falconi does not hold up the most lofty ideals to his contemplatives, neither does he risk their falling into the perils which come from despising the virtues. " As to these," he writes, " I teach them to take as their example in all things the life of Jesus Christ our Master, and to imitate Him in all His acts, natural and supernatural alike. In eating, speaking, and so forth, let them do, in so far as they can, as His Divine Majesty would do." [2] The emphasis of the " brief summary of his teaching," nevertheless, of which these words form part, is laid upon resignation.

> In all things else [*i.e.*, in their life as a whole apart from the particular acts above mentioned] let them walk in continual resignation to the will of God, suffering and enduring whatsoever befalls them because such is His will, and of themselves willing naught, even as Jesus Christ willed naught. For, as He said, He came down from Heaven, *non ut faciam voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem eius, qui misit me.* Let them walk in total resignation, both interiorly and exteriorly, never desiring more than God desires for them.[3]

The criticism made by " some inexperienced masters" that " to adopt this manner of prayer is to remain without thinking and to do nothing "[4] Falconi annihilates with a quotation from St. John of the Cross and a direct negative. The contemplative in this state may not be " discoursing with the imagination," but he is " believing in God with living faith," and " herein he does more than others do with their meditations." [5] To this subject we shall shortly return.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 49. Similar testimony is paid on pp. 46, 54, as to the popularity of this teaching in Madrid at the time.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 6. [3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 6–7. [4] *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 7. The quotation from St. John of the Cross (*Noche oscura del sentido*, x) is reproduced in part in *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 251–2.

These considerations, in the course of which contemplation is defined, lead us to the principal thesis of the letter : that this contemplation is a suitable exercise for all Christians. It is here that Falconi has been chiefly attacked by his critic, as can be seen from the frequency and the heat with which he returns to the theme. We may disregard the purely polemical passages in which he reproaches the Father for his inexperience and for his dog-in-the-manger attitude towards his penitents, as well as the peroration to the letter which urges him to learn this way of prayer at first hand.[1] The main argument then stands out much as follows.

The religious apparently desired that Falconi should " cease teaching this manner of prayer, because it is not for women, and is an occasion of stumbling." " I assert, Father," replies Falconi, " that to cease teaching this manner of prayer would be to cease teaching the articles of the Catholic Faith and that which is taught by the Gospels and the Saints. For that which I teach is identical with the commandments of the law and the counsels of Christ." [2] Again and again, with varying degrees of emphasis, Falconi repeats that contemplation is for all. Not since Osuna, nearly a century before, had claimed that all could have " friendship and communion with God " on earth,[3] had a Spanish writer maintained such a theme so insistently.

> If they mean that it is not for all to pass to contemplation after attaining to meditation, then are they greatly deceived. . . . If a man has passed through meditation, he will be ripe for contemplation, and for so long as he is in that state he must know no other than the simple regard of living faith without reasoning or meditation or reflection.[4]

> Your Paternity desires that only such as have knowledge shall engage in contemplation, and no others. This is precisely the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 45, 47–8, 49, 53. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

[3] See above, pp. 242–3, and also *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 86–7, and *Survey*, pp. 60–1. On p. 39 of his *Lettera*, Falconi refers to Osuna's advocacy of " contemplation " for all. As elsewhere, he assumes that he and his authority mean the same thing by this term.

[4] *Lettera scritta . . . ad un religioso*, p. 10.

contrary opinion to that held by the Saints and taught by experience. For simple, rude and ignorant men, when they are men of good-will, are wont to advance in prayer more than others.[1]

My Father, the learned oft-times do not so much as fringe the boundaries of this science of true prayer, while a country rustic and a woman of no learning attain to it, and these are they whom you would debar from approaching it. God desires and delights to communicate Himself to the humble and simple.[2]

All must travel towards that state [of contemplation] . . . because all have been redeemed by Jesus Christ. He loves them all, the ignorant perhaps more than the learned, and would have them all perfect. . . . God gives the gift of wisdom to all the baptized, without exception ; not that it shall remain unused, but that each soul may prepare itself, so far as it may, to practise perfect contemplation.[3]

To forbid any Christian to pass from meditation to contemplation—" the path of true prayer "[4]—is to act contrarily to charity. God calls all men to perfection ; Christ and the Saints teach that all should strive after perfection : why then should religious teachers be respecters of persons, as though grace for perfection were not given to all who prepared themselves to receive it, by living in such a way as to merit it ?[5] The ignorant certainly need much preliminary teaching, but they are by no means to be debarred from contemplation altogether.[6]

This, maintains Falconi, is the teaching of the Saints, of the Fathers and also of modern authorities,[7] whom he begs his opponent to read, unless perchance he possesses " better and greater light than they " : he will be surprised at the result.[8] Every Christian, Falconi affirms, should spend two hours daily in the presence of God, in the attitude already described of passivity and resignation ; and this whether or no he has already

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–3. [2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 34–5. [3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 40–1.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 30. [5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 30–2. [6] *Op. cit.*, p. 45.
[7] The authors whom he quotes on this his main point are : Juan de los Ángeles (pp. 11, 12), Denis the Carthusian (12), St. Augustine and St. Thomas (33), St. Bonaventura (34), St. Gregory (34, 44), St. John of the Cross (36), Osuna, Tauler, Laredo and the pseudo-Dionysius (39), " e mille altri autori," José de Jesús María (50)—a varied and an imposing array.
[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. 37–8, *passim.*

"passed through meditation."[1] For, though some may not be able to apply themselves to the hearing of many words or to meditation upon their meaning, anyone, "even simple folk and idiots," may "be attentive to the presence of God, which is the end of prayer."[2] "If then this attentiveness . . . , which may be practised by idiots, is that which is most necessary, it follows clearly that this prayer whereof we speak, and wherein we practise the presence of God, becoming aware of His presence through faith, is common to all."[3]

The only point where doubt can legitimately occur, it seems to Falconi, is the advisability of leaving meditation which is fruitful for a new kind of exercise which may well be very much less so, and which seems, especially to those who have not practised it, to be a mere cessation from activity.[4] Such "timorous masters" as fear to counsel this course must be made to see that "though they work not and reason not with the imagination, yet they work when they believe and make the act of faith, and they work likewise with the will, even though they be not conscious thereof, when they love God and resign themselves into His hands."[5] It is impossible, indeed, "for the intellect and the will to be idle in a man of adult years while he is awake," just as it is impossible for his eyes to see nothing when they are open: this is an argument which Falconi has not previously used and which he now develops at some length.[6] And since there exist "but two possible objects for our attention, namely, the creature and the Creator, it follows manifestly that, when a man is rejecting every creature-object, and every thought and intention thereof, and his will neither desires nor loves any

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.

[2] The threefold division (*op. cit.*, pp. 15–6) is quoted with the authority of St. Thomas, but the application of it is entirely Falconi's.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 15–16.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 18. Falconi returns to the question of "feelings" and the peril of being guided by them, treating it at some length (pp. 23–30), and quoting authorities as diverse as St. Thomas, Richard of St. Victor and Bernardino de Laredo.

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 18–20, 21–2.

creature, he is loving the Creator." And this the more so when, as in the present case, " the intent and aim of his soul " is toward God.[1]

There is little in the letter up to this point to which objection can fairly be taken, except perhaps the identification of Falconi's " contemplation " with the whole of the mystical life above the stage of meditation and the confidence with which it is recommended to all Christians without exception. With Falconi's defence of the simple we shall probably agree, as well as with his treatment of meditation, while his " contemplation," as far as it goes, is somewhat less negative than in the earlier letter and differs hardly at all, except in emphasis, from the orthodox descriptions of Quiet which we have already studied.

To assert, however, that Quiet is applicable to all Christians, and to make it identical with mental prayer as a whole, is to strain credulity. And this is Falconi's thesis. In the " true mystical life," he says, there is but one road. Not one for men and one for women, or one for intellectuals and one for rustics. But one for all—and this is the " belief in, and imitation of, Jesus Christ." So far we agree. Further, many writers, from long before Falconi's day down to our own, have insisted upon the essential unity of the three Ways in the mystical life, and the impossibility of making sharp divisions between them. But Falconi goes farther than most when he says : " There is no other way, my Father, but one, *and this is that which is here taught.*"

> The rest are not roads, but paths, or manners—meditation, ejaculatory prayer and other sensible acts proper to beginners. But we all have to come to tread this one highroad, namely the contemplation of Christ with pure faith alone, and the imitation of Him in our works. And if we walk not along this road, which is the only road, it is clear that we shall leave the highroad, and shall consequently be in grave danger of going astray.[2]

Could we allow Falconi to be right here, we should find him unanswerable. And even if we grant that

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 42–3.

there is but one mystic way, we are bound to make some answer to his decisive question :

> Either this way of prayer is the good and true one, or it is not. If it is not, let it be taught to none : if it is, why shall it not be taught to all ? [1]

Our answer will probably be : It is good and true, so far as it goes, but for some it should go farther, while for others it goes too far. Therefore, while it may be taught to all as part of a larger scheme, it should not be taught as something which all must put into practice, nor must the contemplative life at any point be confounded with the active, as though all Christians were called to the life of contemplation.

But such an answer would not have suited our author. It seems doubtful, for all his reading of the mystics of the Golden Age, if he would have understood it. At any rate, he gives no sign of having appreciated those states higher than that of Quiet which were known to the Carmelite Saints. While, as to the question of instruction, he maintains that, even were contemplation not possible for all (and he believes that it is), it should still be taught to all. The reason for this is " clear in good theology " : of two things, " of which the nature of one is good, and that of the other perfect, it is better to do that which is perfect, even though it be done somewhat imperfectly, for that which is but good, even though it be done with greater perfection, cannot attain to such a height as can that which is perfect." [2]

This may have been good theology in the seventeenth century, but it is bad psychology in the twentieth. While even in Falconi's day it was being commonly repeated in another country that

> Sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds ;
> Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 44. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

IV

The next work of Falconi's which claims our attention, and a somewhat extended treatment, may be briefly termed *A Straight Road to Heaven*.[1] We cannot discover that it was included in any edition of Falconi's writings prior to 1783, though the prologue bears the date 1665. This tells how its editor, a Mercedarian father, Pedro Menéndez, found the unpublished manuscript, long after its author's death, and considered it of great value for both "masters and disciples" and for "the profit of souls called by God to spiritual repose." The book is clearly intended to be used by those more advanced in the spiritual life than the type of person for whom the *Primers* were written: it is far more suggestive of the *Letter to a spiritual daughter* than of these. Its first chapters are written in a style not dissimilar to that of the second *Primer*, but, as the author gets farther into his subject, his exposition becomes more and more involved and his sentences are harder to disentangle than in anything else he has written.

The first part of the *Straight Road to Heaven*, after a significant reference to "parrot-like repetitions" and "ill-said rosaries and Ave Marias,"[2] and a quotation on the subject from Juan de los Ángeles,[3] begins by limiting itself to a treatment of "mental and interior prayer," which is then described very much as in the *Primer*. These preliminaries over, Falconi launches out into a theme which he has already treated: "One must not always meditate but must pass to contemplation."[4] Meditation is "seeking, reasoning, masticating the Divine food, journeying, moving"; contemplation is "finding the Divine food, enjoying it, letting it rest (*sosegar*) interiorly." Contemplation is "the end and

[1] The full title should be noted (italics mine): "Camino derecho para el cielo. Hallado en la oración e imitación del camino único de vida eterna Cristo Jesús, *trabajado y resignado en la voluntad del Padre Eterno*."

[2] "No seas tú de los que piensan, que con sus rosarios y Ave Marias mal rezados han de negociar con Dios": Falconi, *Obras*, ed. 1780–3, vol. ii, chap. 1, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. 3, p. 14.

terminus of the journey ; it is to attain to an understanding and knowledge of God." [1]

Illustrating his theme by a wealth of quotations, among which are many from the Carmelite saints, St. Peter of Alcántara and Juan de los Ángeles, Falconi proceeds to delimit further the fields of these two exercises. His general position is that a soul should only leave meditation for contemplation when sure that God is leading it—when unable, indeed, to do otherwise —and this position he defends by lengthy quotations from St. John of the Cross, before summing up thus :

> And so I repeat this rule, that from the day when thou canst no longer meditate or reason, but canst remain in the presence of Christ our Redeemer,—though thou be besieged by thoughts and oppressed by dryness—from that day continue thy prayer after this manner ; for thy very perseverance in faith, through dryness, is the sign that God has given thee a gift for contemplation, and desires to lead thee out of meditation, since thou art ready to go.[2]

By " contemplation " Falconi here understands the third of the traditional stages of the mystical life, and the next section of his book tries to show how it is that imperfect souls can practise it at all. The natural answer to the question would seem to be that they have passed through the first two stages, but Falconi is as anxious as others had been before him to break down the hard and fast barriers between the three. God is " not tied to times and seasons," he says, " but calls each soul and leads it into the kind of prayer that He desires." [3] " The mystics "—we may again note the use of the term—do not distinguish " three Ways, one following the other, so that a soul cannot pass to the last without having been for definite periods of time in the first two." [4] " As P. Gracián says (continues Falconi) in his commentary on St. Bonaventura, many souls are in all three Ways at the same time." [5]

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 15. Falconi is quoting here again from the eighth maxim of St. Peter of Alcántara (reproduced and translated in *Survey*, pp. 82, 197). *Cf.* pp. 113, 361, above.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. 6, p. 47.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 51–2.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 52. *Cf.* p. 295, n. 3 above.

[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 53.

This is no doubt capable of being true, or, at the least, not far from the truth, but, when we come to a chapter characteristically entitled "How easy is contemplation,"[1] we realize the dangers that may attend this beating down of barriers :

> Contemplation consists in nothing more than making an act of faith, and any Christian will be able to remain for an hour making an act of faith . . . without meditating on aught ; and if he divert himself voluntarily from that act of faith he will make another, and others ; and if he do naught but make acts of faith during the whole hour he will be contemplating, the greater or lesser duration of the act signifying the greater or lesser perfection of the contemplation. So that anyone will be able actively to attain to this contemplation, and to remain therein for so long as he applies himself to it. I do not know that this admits of any doubt.[2]
>
> The Saints . . . teach that all the faithful must ever believe that God is present and that they must walk in His presence ; the which is naught else than to be gazing at God with a simple regard ; and this is contemplation.[3]

It is one thing, we may comment, to rail at the "imperfect," who talk of contemplation "as though it were a thing that would have to come from the farthest Indies or were as rare as the phœnix."[4] But it is quite another to assert that the devout Christian is in a suitable state to pass to contemplation many times a day,[5] or that

> it is the most ordinary thing (*ordinarísimo*) for souls to have a thousand short experiences (*ratos*) of contemplation, although, knowing not what they are, they think them to be nothing.[6]

or that to look at an image, to utter a pious ejaculation, to believe a truth of our Faith is contemplation. Yet all this Falconi maintains.[7] And such experiences, he adds, "often happen to folk who are very forgetful of God and are far from virtue."[8] So these—whom St.

[1] *Op. cit.*, chap. 10, p. 64 : "Cuán fácil es contemplar." *Cf.* p. 351, above.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. 10, p. 65.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. 10, p. 66.
[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. 13, p. 84.
[6] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. 10, p. 66.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*

Teresa would place in her outermost mansions—are at times admitted, according to Falconi, to the highest state of mystical experience, the "practice of contemplation and union." [1]

The corollary is natural enough. If contemplation is so easy, why do we not lead men to it at once, "easily and briefly," without waiting for so many conduits,[2] methods and rules, which require so many years? Why do we make it so difficult of attainment, never encouraging souls to seek it directly, or to enter it unless God leads them to it miraculously and almost by force? [3] It is needless for a soul to pass through "many meditations, mortifications and preparations, as if contemplation meant anything more than making an act of faith and remaining therein." [4]

The temptation to continue meditating over-long comes from the devil, who "well knows that contemplation, which is an act of faith, and supernatural in its substance, and a theological virtue, is of greater profit to a soul, however imperfectly it may be made, than meditation." [5] "Even those who are not purged" may practise contemplation; nay, "by its means a soul is the better purged than by meditation or by any penal exercises." [6] Some may object that, unless souls are "purged and purified of their passions" and "evil inclinations," "they cannot arrive at union and true perfection." [7] To which Falconi replies that purgation is necessary, but may be effected by contemplation.

He that attains to God, the fount of all good, and resigns himself into His hands in contemplation that He may lave him and perfect him, will profit more in one month than will others, by practising meditation, in many months.[8]

He appeals to St. Anselm and to the pseudo-Bonaventura [9]

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. 7, p. 51.
[2] *Arcaduces.* A reference to St. Teresa's "Waters"? (*S.S.M.*, I, pp. 151–162.)
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. 10, p. 67.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 70.
[6] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 72.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 73. *Cf.* pp. 91–2.
[9] *Cf.* p. 15, above.

to support his statement, and finally he appeals to experience: if his critics disbelieve him, let them try it for themselves.[1]

He urges his reader, in the light of what he has written, "not to desire to be a contemplative and mystic, or to experience the prayer of union, nor to meddle with any of these things."[2] He need only practise the three theological virtues—"a thing so simple and ordinary that all have the obligation to do it"[3]—and whenever he finds that he "can no longer reason or meditate," and is disposed "to remain in silence," let him pass to contemplation. "With this rule," he concludes, "thou mayest walk in perfect safety."[4]

About the only barrier which Falconi puts to this "contemplation" seems to be that "beginners must not begin with it."[5] He knows no saint who recommends that they should[6]; though for our part we may object to him that the souls "not purged" and "far from virtue" who are described above as engaging in it are evidently "beginners." He repeats that the reader may practise contemplation daily,[7] and has the temerity to quote St. Teresa's *Book of her Life* in support of his doctrines in general.[8]

The second part of the *Straight Road to Heaven* describes what the author terms "a second manner of prayer of contemplation,"[9] a "manner of most easy prayer which the saints teach us for the use of every Christian,"[10] and "a safe short cut (*atajo*) to Heaven, the perfect and most effective way of negotiating with God."[11] The description of this must be quoted in some detail.

That wherein this exercise consists and whereon it depends is as follows. When thou canst no longer meditate upon the mysteries of Christ, or on other things, neither canst make ejaculatory prayers or exercise other affections, such as we have already

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 79.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 82.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 83.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 91.
[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 92.
[6] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 93.
[7] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 104.
[8] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 99.
[9] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 111.
[10] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 112.
[11] *Ibid.*

described : then, since thou canst do no more, content thyself with a simple belief in this Lord, Who is God and Man. Though thou canst not picture Him in the imagination, fret not thyself for this, but see that thou believe Him as He is in Himself. Though He be in darkness, nevertheless thy soul, with dark faith, realizes that it is in presence of its Creator and Redeemer. Persevere thou, with that faith, in His presence, knowing that thou art nothing and of no worth. Give thyself into His hands and resign thyself wholly into His fatherly will, that He may do with thee in all things and in all ways that which pleases Him, and have firm faith and confidence that He will help thee like a father and will do what is best for thee if thou place thyself in His will and art resigned thereto. Be resigned, then, and persevere, believing Him and loving Him, for this is to be in contemplation.[1]

Upon this description of a state of somewhat greater passivity than that already described, but capable also of being practised by all [2] and in other respects identical with it, follow a large number of quotations which, considered chronologically, range from St. Augustine to St. John of the Cross, though the large majority of them are taken from Spanish writers. It is perfectly clear now, even more so than in the *Letters*, that Falconi is misinterpreting what he reads, for not only do most of the passages cited not refer to any state closely similar to that which Falconi describes, but they do not even all refer to the same state. The student may refer to typical quotations by Falconi from Laredo,[3] Osuna,[4]

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 113–14. The passage is of sufficient importance for the original to be quoted as it stands : " En lo que este ejercicio consiste, y se cifra, es : en que cuando ya no puedas meditar en los misterios de Cristo, ni en otras cosas, ni jacular, ni hacer otros afectos, como ya queda dicho ; que entonces, pues ya no puedes más, te contentes con un sencillo creer en ese Señor Dios, y hombre : y pues ya no le puedes figurar en la imaginación, no te mates por ello ; sino procura creerlo como es en sí : que aunque está en oscuridad, pero el alma con la fe oscura atiende a que está delante de su Criador, y Redentor ; y con esa fe persevera delante de él, conociendo, que ni eres, ni vales nada ; y así entrégate en sus manos, y resígnate todo en su voluntad paternal, para que haga de ti lo que más fuere servido en todo, y por todo : y ten firme fe, y confianza, de que como Padre te remediará, y hará lo que más te convenga si te pones en su voluntad, resignado en ella. Resígnate, pues, y persevera, creyéndole, y amándole : que esto es estar en contemplación."

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 252–5. But this state is not recommended to beginners (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 307).

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 117–18.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 122–3.

Luis de Granada,[1] and St. John of the Cross.[2] Or he may confine himself to the numerous quotations from St. Teresa, such as that (to take but one example) in which she counsels passivity and resignation to the soul in the state called by her the Prayer of Recollection—that is to say, the state which "almost always precedes" Osuna's Prayer of Quiet.[3] This counsel Falconi applies to his "one act" and "one road" of contemplation, though it was intended only for a temporary stage on the road: it is unnecessary to develop more such examples of Falconi's method of using his authorities.

At the point in his book at which we have now arrived, our author apparently remembers that St. Teresa has cautioned souls not to advance as far as contemplation while they are still in the outer mansions, and justifies himself against her caution by claiming that she writes of "supernatural, infused and passive contemplation" whereas he is dealing with "active" contemplation.[4] He might have added that she and some of his other authorities are also dealing with infused contemplation in most of the passages which he cites above in defence of his recommendations.

This form of contemplation, it seems, has, like the other, a purgative effect, and, though not meant for beginners, will serve to lead penitents from their sins. This fact Falconi endeavours to demonstrate by reference to the personal experiences of three people known to him, which have led him to believe that contemplation cannot co-exist with mortal sin.[5] Meditation, we learn with some surprise, offers more snares than contemplation for the unwary. Being largely the work of the human powers, it allows easy entrance to the devil, presents "a thousand deceptions which . . . are not easy to recognize," and has in actual fact produced "a thousand illusions and errors in many persons believed to be spiritual," especially in beginners. Those who meditate

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 123–4.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 121.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 127–30. Cf. *Moradas*, iv, chap. 3; *S.S.M.*, I, pp. 176–9.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 128.
[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 353, 358–60.

habitually are apt to be " submerged in the sweetness " (*dulzura*) of their meditations, and in tender feelings, which they think to be the love of God, whereas there is not less than a hundredweight [1] of self-love to perhaps not so much as an ounce of the love of God.[2]

From all this the soul that leaves meditation for contemplation is set free.

The devil will not deceive it with false revelations, visions or aught else soever, for in this pure and inward region of the soul, which is its highest and supreme part, the devil neither goes out, nor comes in, nor has any power.[3]

We may now enquire a little more precisely into the nature of this " most easy prayer," to be undertaken that we " may see how easy it is to seek God, to find Him and to treat with him." [4] The first question which arises is naturally the crucial one of how the faculties are occupied in it. From the description of it already quoted in Spanish and English, it would seem to be a wholly intellectual exercise, in so far as it is an active exercise at all : it is in essence an act of faith. But we now find that continual attentiveness to God is not necessary, and that therefore, presumably, the powers of the soul may all rest, or even be wholly suspended, and yet the " contemplation " may suffer no loss of efficacy.

For the soul to be in true prayer all the time . . . there is no need for it to be all the time attentive to God nor to be ever thinking upon Him. It suffices that at the beginning of thy prayer thou have such attention, and such thought, although it be not with thee all the time thou art there (provided thou turn not from thy purpose). . . .

That original attention and thought upon God which thou hadst at the beginning has such worth and power that for all the rest of the time thy prayer is genuine, meritorious and prevailing, even though for as long as it lasts thou be not employed in actual considerations upon God.[5]

[1] Lit., *arroba*, a weight of approximately 25 pounds, corresponding therefore rather to the English weight of " quarter " than to the hundredweight.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 360–4.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 364.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 391.

[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 343.

It is certain that we have not here a state of pure passivity ; it may become such for a time, it would seem, but for a time only. In another passage, however, Falconi denies even this, though the validity of his denial might well be disputed. His words are these :

> We do not say that this intentional inaction of the understanding or the will is equivalent to total suspension, as some interpret it to be, for it would be an absurdity either to attain to this or to recommend it.[1]

The understanding is not strictly idle. It no longer " repeats acts " or " reasons," but " simple apprehension " is as much its business as argument and " it is occupied in the simplest (*simple y sencillo*) knowledge of the mystery which it believes." Nor is the will idle (*ociosa*), " for it is desiring that object and it has surrendered itself to the Divine will, having no need to renew its repetitions and resignations, but remaining always in the same state." [2] Once the will is given up to God, it suffices to refrain from abandoning this attitude of resignation :

> Thou hast no need to keep repeating that thou surrenderest thyself to Him. . . . Be still, for thou *art* loving Him.[3]

Concepts may be formed during contemplation, provided they are as broad and general as possible —*e.g.* of the Deity of Christ as well as of His Humanity. In meditation such concepts are always formed, though, from the nature of the exercise, they must be partial. In contemplation, when they are formed they should be as full and complete as can be.[4]

All this may be true of the contemplation which is the " act of faith," and we must absolve Falconi, at any rate in this place, from the charge of preaching pure and entire passivity. What he teaches is again the suppression of all acts save one, in the degree to which perfection is desired, this practice being given the name of contemplation, and the suppression even of this act at

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 333.
[2] *Ibid.*, and pp. 335–7.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 337.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 247–52.

periods during its exercise, in which periods we seem to have nothing else than total passivity. Again, there are passages in the *Straight Road* similar to those in the *Letter to a spiritual daughter*, where total immersion, total darkness and total resignation seem to imply total passivity. To do Falconi full justice, however, it must be said that in the *Straight Road* his language in regard to this darkness and immersion is modelled upon the very carefully guarded and strictly orthodox language of St. John of the Cross. At times, he tells the reader, in this second manner of contemplation,

> thou art as if ravished (*embelesado*) and as if in darkness, so that thou knowest not what thou doest or doest not, and even thinkest that thou wilt perish.[1]

Those who find themselves in this state

> think that they are lost and that they grow worse day by day . . . when they are really making progress ; for Our Lord desires to leave them in this darkness to humble and purify them. And, however it be, why seekest thou to concern thyself with knowing, or feeling, that which God works in thy soul when thou art in prayer ? What matters to thee is that thou be quiet and let God work : afterwards, when time has passed, thou shalt see all for thyself.[2]

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that Falconi is considerably more on the defence in the *Straight Road* than in either the *Primers* or the *Letter to a spiritual daughter*, citing many authorities, principally Spanish writers of acknowledged weight, and also dealing with objections to the practice of this form of contemplation, in a passage taken from Luis de la Puente's biography of Baltasar Álvarez,[3] which may be briefly summarized as follows :

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 329. A quotation from St. John of the Cross follows.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 331. This passage is also inspired by St. John of the Cross, who is again quoted.

[3] *Obras Espirituales del V.P. Luis de la Puente* (Madrid, 1690), vol. v, chap. 41, pp. 394–8. The pages which Falconi uses comprise a statement drawn up by Baltasar Álvarez at the command of his superiors in which he defends " la oración que llaman de quietud y silencio " (p. 394). Falconi, it will be noted, assumes that he and Álvarez mean by this the same thing, which is another question. (Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. v, chaps. 14, 15, pp. 298–306.)

(1) Is not the soul idle in this "manner of prayer of quiet"?—No: there is no business on earth so important as that in which it is engaged.[1]

(2) Is not ceasing meditation tempting God? And does it not "border upon the error of the *alumbrados*"?—No: because this contemplation is not for beginners, "but for those who have long practised meditations, whence they pass to this manner of prayer with quiet."[2]

(3) How does one recognize God's call to this way of prayer and distinguish it from pride and a desire for "sweetness"?—By the sign that the soul is recollected (*se recoge a Dios*).[3]

(4) Does not this prayer tend to vanity?—Such a tendency, if it exists, is the fault of the person, not that of the prayer. The same objection might be raised to any aid to holiness.[4]

(5) The same answer meets the objection that contemplatives fail to fulfil the Christian's obligations to others.[5]

(6) Those who practise this way of prayer never return to vocal prayer, intercession, devotion to the saints, etc.—This is simply denied.[6]

(7) This prayer is very much unlike the more usual way of prayer—The answer is that the exercitant must start with the other and rise to this.[7]

Some further and independent objections raise points which have already been touched, and Falconi continues what has now become a sadly rambling exposition, quoting chiefly from Bernardino de Laredo and Juan de los Ángeles. There are signs that he has read the former with considerable care and has even studied his

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 149: "Este ocio es el negocio de los negocios." La Puente (*op. cit.*, p. 395), following St. Bernard, has "este oficio."

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 151–2. *Cf.* with this statement, which is, of course, that of the original (*op. cit.*, p. 395), that on p. 373, above. Much follows on the *alumbrados*, largely repeating pp. 352–4, above.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 152–3. *Cf.* La Puente, *op. cit.*, pp. 395–6.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 153–5. *Cf.* La Puente, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 156–8. *Cf.* La Puente, *ibid.*

[6] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 158–61. *Cf.* La Puente, p. 397.

[7] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 161–4. *Cf.* La Puente, p. 397.

sources.[1] He returns again to defend the abandonment of meditation in favour of contemplation, which he does quite unexceptionably, but merely employing his former arguments.

The third part of the book (from which we have already occasionally quoted) deals with the way to practise this " most easy " manner of contemplation, of which the theory has been outlined. The contemplative process certainly appears to be simple. An act of faith and an act of resignation are made in turn (but not necessarily in the words given, or even in any words at all). After which the exercitant is to remain quiet, " in true contemplation of Christ, God and Man . . . and this without forming within [him] any figures or images of Christ." [2] " Thou shalt say no more to God, but be as one that is master of naught, and remain as thou art, in silence, believing that God is with thee." [3] Thoughts that come may be put aside : " remain as thou art, with thine eyes shut or opened, and as best suits thee, for an hour, or half an hour, or as long as thou canst. . . . And when thou endest, take not thy leave of God." [4]

In this practical part of the book, as well as in the theoretical part, we notice the same insistence upon the ease and simplicity of the exercise recommended :

> And see here I have set out for thee in a few words all that there is to do and all that is written in a thousand books ; and no more rules or documents are needful save these, nor even as many.[5]

We notice also the high place which these exercises are given in comparison with the devotions of the Church—indeed, the very fact of comparison of the one with the other, the bare suggestion of rivalry, is important.

> It is good and holy to be engaged in prayer and meditation when the Holy Mysteries are celebrated ; but it is *much better without comparison* to be alone and waiting upon God.[6]

[1] Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 117–18, 214.
[2] Cf. p. 364, above.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 229.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 229–30.
[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 230.
[6] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 232. Italics mine.

This contemplation is more profitable than the saying of rosaries in the usual way, and . . . more so than if one is continually asking for something.[1]

Without condemning forms and ceremonies in so many words, Falconi shows plainly, not only that he blames those who use rosaries, repeat psalms and perform other devotions in such abundance that they extract from them little profit,[2] but also, in spite of his sacramental books, that he considers such things poor substitutes for the kind of devotion which he urges.

The soul is pure spirit of the simplest possible kind ; it cannot then be satisfied save with acts of pure spirituality, unconnected with the senses ; other things cannot give it the sustenance which its nature demands or the food which is adequate to its inclination.[3]

God being "simplest and purest spirit," He is best worshipped with "the pure and simple act of faith." [4]

Once more Falconi makes a renewed and determined self-defence against the charge—alleged he does not say by whom—of having advocated idleness and passivity. The idleness, he repeats, is only apparent. Is the soul doing nothing if for two hours a day it is fighting and vanquishing its deadly enemies ? Is it idleness to bind and hold captive those cruel adversaries, our senses, and to close them against the enticements of the world ? Is it passivity to keep one's whole nature in voluntary martyrdom ?

If thou doest no more than remain alone on thy knees for two hours daily and art withdrawn during that time from the creatures, with thy senses recollected and thy carnal nature dead, this is much and more than much.[5]

God give us ever to be doing nothing in this wise, and grant us His grace that we may continue steadfastly in this nothingness, wherein the soul lives in faith and resignation and the carnal nature dies. Happy is this nothingness as to the senses ! Yea, happy is this death ! [6]

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 282–3.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 462.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 323–4.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 345. *Cf.* pp. 346–7.
[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 278.
[6] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 281.

The next pages of the book ring changes once more on the theme of resignation. "True and substantial devotion" is equivalent to "the resignation of the will into the hands of God," an attitude which cannot be attained by "discourse or reasoning."[1] Let us set down, for further reference, these few phrases which are quite unequivocal in meaning :

> Neither the loftiest and subtlest contemplation of the understanding, nor colloquies like to those of angels bring God to the soul, if there is no resignation to the will of God. *And when there is this, all is done.* . . .
>
> In this resignation lies *the essence of devotion.*[2]

The third part of the *Straight Road to Heaven*, besides expounding the state which we have described, hints somewhat vaguely at a kind of progression within or beyond it. Those who, by long practice, are "already advanced" in this "second exercise of resignation and contemplation" must not be content with their progress, but must continue "to purify it [the exercise] ever more, practising it after a manner which shall have less to do with the senses and more with the spirit, to the end that in this way they may continue their progress toward greater perfection."[3] Just as from vocal prayer one rises to meditation, and from meditation to the lowest kind of contemplation, "even so also from this contemplation, which has in it something of the senses, one may rise to another, which is purer, and which can hardly be said to be felt or experienced at all."

> For it is so pure, so inward, and so spiritual, that it is scarcely noticed. It consists in placing oneself in the presence of God with a secret, intimate and imperceptible intention and desire in the soul, to remain ever in His hands and so to continue the loving surrender which it has made of itself to Him. And this it does by the very act of placing itself in His presence, without having any

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 300–2.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 304–5 : "Ni la contemplación más alta y delicada del entendimiento, ni los coloquios angélicos no traen a Dios al alma, mientras no hay resignación en la voluntad de Dios, y en habiéndola todo está hecho. . . . En esta resignación está la esencial devoción."

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 373.

need of making any other sensible act, beyond that of placing itself before Him. . . .[1]

If they asked [one in this state] whether or no he would commit a sin against God, he would answer that he would rather lose his life than do such a thing. This is the refined love which God asks of us, and that which is taught in sound theology. Love which is of the senses and affections is wont to be incomparably less, and is of less importance, though in the sensible part of the heart it may appear greater.[2]

This highest form of contemplation has already been hinted at quite early in the *Straight Road*,—" another kind of resignation, purer and more detached, at which persons more proficient must aim " [3]—but it is not described at any length until now. Very few practise it. But those who know it " walk in the presence and faith of simplest Divinity (*andan en una presencia y fe de la divinidad simple y sencilla*) without forming figures and images of God with their imagination, but only believing His Divinity in general and committing themselves with loving resignation into His Divine hands ; and such as these have no need to begin their hours of prayer with new and sensible acts of faith since they are ever in a state of surrender to God." [4]

This quotation, though it adds little to that which precedes it, is made for the sake of corroboration. We are now perfectly clear that Falconi's most advanced contemplatives need make " no sensible acts of faith and resignation . . . for so long as they do not abandon this resignation . . . through sin or some other thing that is contrary to the Divine will." [5]

The fourth part of the *Straight Road* makes considerably greater use of authorities than does the second or the third, than which it is of less importance. It is concerned largely with the question of sensible devotion, the " consolations " which St. Teresa declared to be of less value than increase of love. Falconi has already

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 374–5.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 375–6.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 262–6.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 377–8.
[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 379.

rejected these in so far as they enter into the composition of any of his grades of contemplation. But supposing they come unsought,—are they to be accepted or rejected ?

" Those who are not beginners in virtue," is the reply, " must reject all favours and all kinds of sweetness, not disdainfully, but with humility and courtesy, renouncing them for God's sake. . . . For they are God's creatures, and not God Himself ; wherefore it is better to leave them all and desire God's Majesty only." [1] Falconi quotes here St. Bonaventura, Tauler, Laredo, St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, but appears to go farther than any of these, forbidding all save beginners even to admit the favours which the others are content to warn them against over-prizing. Though his severity is so unyielding, it cannot be denied that the trend of his arguments in these pages [2] is sound, and that if he errs in them it is in the right direction.

Even beginners are not to receive favours (*regalos*) which consist of visions, locutions or revelations of any kind whatsoever, " sweet odours or any such extraordinary thing." Nor may proficients receive these, but should flee from them. Here again Falconi is well supported by the Carmelite saints, and he makes good use of his authorities.[3]

He is perhaps on ground less safe when to the doubtful counsel he has given about forms and ceremonies he adds the most definite deprecation of ascetic practices.

> To serve God there is no need to go killing oneself with fasts and penances.[4]
>
> God asks of thee no great rigours, but only that thou commit not thy will in bestial wise to the appetites of the senses, and this is not to ask much.[5]

Having said so much, he appears anxious to qualify his statements. He allows that we must " fulfil the precepts of the Church and keep fasts of obligation," that religious

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 404–5.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 404–11.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 416–25.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 455.
[5] *Ibid.*

must obey their rule and constitution, and that all must be guided by their directors. Further, he adds, "I say not that these (ascetic practices) aid not virtue and that penance is not very useful." He represents himself as anxious principally to undeceive those who, "because they fast and lash themselves and do other outward actions, count themselves just and holy and very proficient in virtue." There is sense in his recommendation of "some very good penances less ostentatious but more profitable: to suffer the sharp retort, to refrain from excuses when a fault is imputed to thee, to bear patiently all that is done to thee, to suffer illness for God's sake . . . and to obey thy superiors in all that they command thee, for there is no penance like obedience."[1] But the deprecatory tone of his remarks on asceticism leads us definitely farther than the warnings of any earlier Spanish mystic against excessive penances.

While a full examination of the *Straight Road* and a criticism of its principles belong to a future volume, sufficient has been said to show that, though unprohibited by authority, its teaching is no less perilous than that of the *Letters*. The best that can be said for it, since its exposition is often no better than its content, is that it bears the genuine stamp of sincerity, and shows a desire on its author's part to interpret his own experiences and those of others in a way which shall be profitable to his readers. The anecdotes which he tells do not always prove as much as he claims for them, but they have the stamp of authenticity. It is noteworthy, again, that, while he begins his book with a great many authoritative citations, on which he depends for testimony, he is soon quoting infrequently, and then mainly illustratively and from contemporary writers. He clearly feels the difficulty of committing to paper what we must believe to be reports of genuine experience. To Falconi, as to Luis de León, the tale was endless,[2] and the farther he journeyed the wider were the seas which came into his view.

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 455–7.

[2] Cf. *Survey*, p. 39.

Divers times I touch on this point but never am I satisfied ; for naught, it appears, suffices to express to thee what I would.[1]

Again, the address to God which he interpolates in his manuscript as he nears the more important part of his book has the ring of sincerity.

O Lord ! Since Thou movest my desire, move Thou likewise my pen that I may be able to express some part of all that I feel concerning it. And above all, O Lord, quicken and illumine this faith of ours, be it but a little.[2]

When the history of quietism in Spain comes to be written, the position of Falconi in the movement will no doubt be a difficult one to assign exactly. But, however grave his errors may have been, it will be unnecessary for one moment to discuss either his earnestness of manner or his sincerity of purpose. Both these stand out on every page, as rays of brightness shining amid a dark and confused maze of argument.

V

The *Brief Compendium of most eminent Christian perfection*, which takes us some way farther than we have already travelled into Falconi's teaching, was, like the *Straight Road to Heaven*, first published at the end of the edition of 1783. It is far less rambling and incoherent than the *Straight Road*, its methodical arrangement giving it rather the appearance of being a carefully compiled summary of a longer work or a statement worked up from full notes. We can therefore best describe it by the method of simple analysis, remarking first that, though its general debts to certain writers are obvious, it makes no allusion to any writer by name and quotes from no book except, very rarely, from the Bible.

The " most eminent perfection," which is the subject of the book, is founded upon two principles. The first

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 391. [2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 69.

is "a disregard and contempt for all created things and particularly for oneself," from which arise: (i) "the renunciation and self-deprivation of all created things, both as to affection, act and determined will"; (ii) "the recognition of God's withdrawal from the soul of these created things and the heartfelt acceptance and welcome thereof." The second is "a most lofty conception of God, coming not by a knowledge of . . . theology, but . . . by readiness of will, humility of heart and self-surrender." [1]

By such preparation, continues Falconi, the soul attains

> a union and transformation in God which is called deification. This is not that which is mystical or comes by way of rapture and by elevation of the understanding and by the vehement affections which proceed therefrom. For that mystical union is subject to deception of the understanding, and the labour usually spent therein is useless, because they that attain to such a state are very few. But this is a real union, which is common to many, with perfect harmony wrought through the will, and transformation in the Divine will wrought by perfect love, which leads the soul, even without especial light and knowledge, to perform all its actions in God. Of the which deification all are capable: they attain to it easily so far as the understanding is concerned (provided always that they are aided throughout by Divine grace), but, in the part that concerns the will, with many crosses and great trials.[2]

The progress from the lowest point in the above description (which is not always, it will be observed, very clear) to the "state of greatest perfection," [3] is reduced, in successive chapters of the *Compendium*, to three stages.

The first of these stages, which has six degrees, is characterized by self-depreciation of a very pronounced kind and described as "genuine self-annihilation." [4] Its first degree comprises the renunciation of all created things, both in will and in deed, except so far as is

[1] *Compendio breve*, etc., chap. 2, *Obras, ed. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 475–6.
[2] Chap. 2, *ed. cit.*, p. 477.
[3] Chap. 11, title.
[4] Chap. 3, *ed. cit.*, p. 481.

essential to bare life.[1] Its second degree implies "the renunciation of holy and spiritual things," not for what they are, but because beneath the colour of holiness are hidden self-interest and self-love.

When this point has been reached, there are wont to supervene "illuminations, desires and affections" which are "incomparably loftier than what has preceded them, because . . . they have their abode or seat in the superior part of the soul, and hereupon the soul must rise to a higher degree yet of alienation, abstraction and conformity, with the aid of annihilation and a low esteem of itself." These represent the third degree—a more perilous as well as a higher one, for the illumination is apt "to be seized upon by the will with a certain subjective satisfaction, which, though hidden [*i.e.* from the subject], is self-complacency." The author warns his readers that, if they dwell upon it and labour to increase it, it will not increase; an illusory illumination will take its place, and the soul may well be lost, even while thinking itself to have reached great heights.[2]

The fourth degree is very different from the third. The soul "has desires for complete perfection but cannot attain to its ideal. Sometimes the impediments are of man and can be surmounted, sometimes of God. These desires may be persisted in unless it becomes clear that the impediments are of Divine origin, in which case they, too, must be renounced and that gladly. Such renunciation will in good time infallibly bring new illumination. This degree of annihilation is a very high one: "the soul leaves God for God, renouncing God as the giver of some self-interest in virtue or perfection, for God as the giver of no such self-interest; whence arises the loftiest transformation and deification."[3]

This crest of experience, following a trough, is

[1] Chap. 4, *ed. cit.*, pp. 482–5. As an example of Falconi's exaggerated language, we may quote from his description of this first degree of the first stage (*ed. cit.*, p. 485). The soul "is *united and transformed perfectly in God*, whence are wont to arise lofty feelings and Divine affections." To follow the Divine will conscientiously is "*ecstasy of the will*, which is far more perfect than that of the understanding and *deifies the soul more perfectly*."

[2] Chap. 6, *ed. cit.*, pp. 488–90. [3] Chap. 7, *ed. cit.*, pp. 493–8.

succeeded by a deeper trough, the description of which is so clearly based upon St. John of the Cross' Dark Night of the Spirit that it need hardly be described. This period of " great temptations, similar to, or greater than those which the soul experienced at the beginning of its conversion," is the fifth degree of annihilation : the advice given to those who reach it is orthodox and traditional.[1]

The sixth degree is an intensification of the fifth, the trials affecting " the superior part of the soul, wherein resides the will." The description is longer, more detailed and, down to the very metaphors employed, taken even more evidently from St. John of the Cross, though no acknowledgment is made of the debt.[2] This ends the " first stage of annihilation."

The second stage is higher than the first, for although in the sixth degree of the latter the soul was " free from self-interest and self-love," it was nevertheless " making elections with its own will which works with its active virtue." It now has to " strip, alienate and unclothe itself," and in this God helps it by taking from it " the power of making any act, even of thanksgiving, or fortitude or patience or any other virtue soever, save that of willing that which God wills and that which pleases His Majesty." [3]

> This abstraction is carried still farther when God takes away even this act of conformity with the Divine will . . . and there remains only to the soul a passive will, so that it is dumb, even as a lamb in the hand of its shearer is dumb, and allows God to do all that He will. This is an elimination of all that is active in the soul. . . . It can only suffer, voluntarily, but with an act of passivity, all that God is pleased to send it.[4]

Some lengthy directions for the soul in this state are given here which reduce themselves to " annihilation," " renunciation," " passive quietness and subjection," even though this treatment of the soul by God bring with it a redoubling of the tortures of the Dark Night. To the soul that perseveres there comes " a quietness

[1] Chap. 8, *ed. cit.*, pp. 503–6.
[2] Chap. 9, *ed. cit.*, pp. 509–21.
[3] Chap. 10, *ed. cit.*, pp. 521–2.
[4] Chap. 10, *ed. cit.*, p. 523.

and a passive conformity with the Divine will" leading to "a passive act, not of offering or dedication (which would not be passive but active), sacrifice or holocaust . . . but a giving of the soul to God passively, with self-depreciation, and a total surrender." [1]

Further examination of this state of passivity elicits two characteristics more. First, it "surrenders and submits itself with quietness and with the greatest readiness to suffer any sorrows, afflictions and miseries, suffering them with a good grace and with good will, notwithstanding that they pierce the soul and the heart." Secondly, the soul "retires within its own remotest depth, which is called in mystical theology *Apex animae*."

Being unable to perform any act, it offers and submits itself with the greatest readiness to God, Who works within the soul with its passive and free assistance (*concurso*) (that is, without its knowing or feeling it) acts far loftier and more heroic than before, of gratitude, love, union with God, and every virtue. And all these He works without the soul's feeling them expressly; it receives them and co-operates with them heartily and freely, so that the understanding raised in ecstasy of the senses cannot understand with its natural powers and with its active virtue, but when it has received these Divine illuminations it knows the most Divine and lofty things, the which experience is called in mystical theology *Pati divina*. And thus, in the uplifted understanding God works these things, which exceed its natural virtue; and much more will He be able to work them in the will which renounces all that is active and is stripped by Him and raised to an ecstasy that is passive and most full of virtue. . . . This, too, is *Pati divina* and the loftiest manner thereof. For ecstasy of the understanding is a thing most perilous, that comes to few and is the occasion of great deceptions. . . . But in this ecstasy the will is stripped of itself, is humbled, and submits itself with great security to God.

And let it be noted that all souls are capable of such ecstasy, and yet that it is more perfect than ecstasy of the understanding, being an ecstasy that has as its basis humility and detachment, and that it makes the soul more pleasing to God our Lord.[2]

[1] Chap. 10, *ed. cit.*, pp. 523–5. Falconi adds that "exterior acts"—*e.g.* of neighbourly charity—still persist, and indeed are more effective, because they are in conformity with his way of life (pp. 525–6).

[2] Chap. 10, *ed. cit.*, pp. 526–8.

The third and final stage consists in "suspension, not only of the active part (of the soul) aforesaid, but also of the aforementioned passive part, so that the will remains, so to say, completely naked, and impotent to perform anything. This suspension of its passive part it neither resists, nor opposes; being completely surrendered to God, and allowing itself to be stripped and unclothed entirely." [1]

The supreme liberty of the will is "to strip itself of its liberty . . . and, as it were, to be a will no longer," since it "surrenders its rights and its proper office," just as the Mercedarians make slaves of themselves in order to free others. This is the highest state of all, because it involves the supreme sacrifice.

The will remains all the time as though it were not. All that the soul does is to offer no resistance, but to submit itself willingly to this elimination. And thus it becomes in practice dissolved and remains as though it were no longer a will at all. Aforetime it performed certain actions and commanded the other faculties (*potencias*) to perform them likewise; now it no longer does this of its own choice and election, but by the election and ordinance of God.[2]

In this supreme state the soul "practises in the sublimest manner annihilation, alienation and abstraction. Conformity it does not practise, for in place thereof comes something that is yet more perfect; for the will, making perfect renunciation of itself, is dissolved and whelmed in God; and thus there is left no will to conform, but it is completely lost, transformed in the Divine will, and supremely deified in the aforementioned union and in the manner aforementioned."

With these words the book somewhat abruptly terminates:

May His Majesty grant souls a realization hereof, that they may dispose themselves for this and practise it. Oh, what happiness will be theirs if they attain to the consummation of such happiness! May this great God and most Divine Lord be praised eternally by His creatures.[3]

[1] Chap. 11, *ed. cit.*, pp. 528–9.
[2] Chap. 11, *ed. cit.*, pp. 529–30.
[3] Chap. 11, *ed. cit.*, pp. 531–2.

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A description of the general nature of this bibliography appears in *S.S.M.*, I, p. 407.

The following abbreviations are used throughout these pages:

Books, reviews, etc.:

A.A. See Bibl., No. 892.
A.I.A. Archivo Ibero-Americano. See Bibl., No. 1658.
B.A.E. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.
B.I. See Bibl., No. 898.
B.Z. See Bibl., No. 908.
C.G.G. See Bibl., No. 894.
C.G.T.C. See Bibl., No. 895.
C.P.P. See Bibl., No. 901.
Esc. See Bibl., No. 896.
F.C. See Bibl., No. 893.
G.S.V. See prefatory note to Alonso de Orozco (p. 427, below).
J.M.S. See Bibl., No. 907.
J.M.V. See Bibl., No. 909.
M.A.M. See Bibl., No. 890.
N. Ant. Nicolás Antonio: Bibliotheca Hispana Nova (Bibl., No. 42).
P.P.M. See Bibl., No. 902.
P.P.T. See Bibl., No. 903.
R.A.B.M. Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos.

Libraries:

B. stands for Biblioteca, Bibliothèque or Bibliotheca except where otherwise stated.
B. Cat. Biblioteca del Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona.
B.M. British Museum.
B.M.P. Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo, Santander.
B.N. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
B.N.L. Bibliotheca Nacional, Lisbon.
B. Nat. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B.S.I. Biblioteca de San Isidro, Madrid.
B. Sem. Conc. Biblioteca del Seminario Conciliar.
B. Sem. Cuenca. Biblioteca del Seminario de Cuenca.
B. Ter. Biblioteca Teresiana (of the Marqués de San Juan de Piedras Albas), Ávila.
B.U. University of Barcelona.

C.A.F.V. Colegio de Agustinos Filipinos, Valladolid.
C.E.H. Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid.
Ghent. Bibliothèque des Carmes, Ghent.
Gr. U. University of Granada.
H.S.A. Hispanic Society of America, New York.
H.U. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Mont. Monasterio de Montserrat.
P.L.B. Public Library of Boston, U.S.A. (not including the Ticknor Collection, which is a part of this library).
R.A.H. Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
R.B.E. Real Biblioteca del Escorial.
S.C. Vall. Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz, Valladolid.
Sal. U. University of Salamanca.
Sant. U. University of Santiago de Compostela.
Sarriá. Convento de PP. Capuchinos, Sarriá, Barcelona.
Sev. U. University of Seville.
T.L.B. Ticknor Collection of the Public Library of Boston, U.S.A.
Val. U. University of Valencia.
Vall. U. University of Valladolid.
Zar. U. University of Zaragoza.

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913. Ibeas, R.P. Bruno, O.S.A.: "Los Ascéticos agustinos españoles," in *España y América*, 1925–7.

[A very long series of articles providing useful background to our subject.]

914. Levasti, A.: *I Mistici.* Florence, 1925. 2 vols.
[A popular work. Only vol. ii touches the mysticism of Spain.]

915. Monasterio, R. P. Ignacio, O.S.A.: *Místicos agustinos españoles.* Madrid, 1929.
[The articles cited in No. 81, published in collected form.]

916. Peralta, R.P. Vicente de, O.M. Cap.: "Místicos franciscanos," in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1918–24.
[A very long series of articles, only parts of which deal with Spanish Mysticism, but which is frequently most suggestive and informative.]

917. Peralta, R.P. Vicente de, O.M. Cap.: "Reflexiones históricas sobre la contemplación mística," in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1917, Año xi, pp. 321–36.

918. Pfandl, L.: "Franziskanische Mystik des 16 Jahrhunderts in Spanien," in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 1927, vol. xlvii, pp. 302–15.

919. Pfandl, L.: "Die grossen spanischen Mystiker," in *Die Neueren Sprachen*, 1925, vol. xxxiii, pp. 104–21.

920. Sainz Rodríguez, P.: *Introducción a la historia de la literatura mística en España.* Madrid, 1927.

921. Sainz Rodríguez, P.: "El problema histórico del misticismo español," in *Revista de Occidente*, 1927, vol. xv, pp. 324–46.

922. *Vida Sobrenatural, La.* Salamanca, 1921 ff. In progress.
[Has a large number of articles, which, though seldom individually of great importance, combine to make it a useful commentary on our subject.]
[See also Nos. 1017, 1813, below.]

The following entries (Nos. 923–931) refer to the controversy on "acquired contemplation," on which see also *S.S.M.*, I, Nos. 1, 2, 23, 25, 26, 27, together with Nos. 916, 917, above, and *La Ciencia Tomista, passim.*

923. Claudio de Jesús Crucificado, R.P. Fr., C.D.: "Alrededor de la contemplación adquirida," in *Monte Carmelo*, vol. xxvi, pp. 499–504, and *Mensajero de Santa Teresa*, vol. iii, pp. 330–35.

924. Claudio de Jesús Crucificado, R.P. Fr., C.D.: "Progreso de la doctrina sobre la contemplación adquirida en la Escuela Mística Carmelitana," in *Mensajero de Santa Teresa*, vol. iv, pp. 230–34.

925. Claudio de Jesús Crucificado, R.P. Fr., C.D.: "San Juan de la Cruz y la contemplación adquirida," in *Mensajero de Santa Teresa*, vol. iv, pp. 293–300.

926. Crisógono de Jesús Sacramentado, R.P. Fr., C.D.: *La escuela mística carmelitana.* Madrid, 1930.
[*Cf.* also No. 959, vol. i, chap. 7, which gives a further bibliography on this question.]

927. I. G.: "¿Adquirida o infusa? Solución de una contienda," in *Vida Sobrenatural*, vol. xi, pp. 305–13.

928. J. de G.: "Contemplation acquise," in *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 1926, vol. vii, pp. 203–11.
[A closely packed summary of the controversy in recent years, and the best general introduction to the question.]

929. Menéndez-Reigada, R.P. Ignacio, O.P.: "La contemplación adquirida y la escuela pseudoteresiana." Salamanca, 1925.
[A pamphlet, somewhat polemical in tone but nevertheless useful.]

930. Menéndez-Reigada, R.P. Ignacio, O.P.: "Unidad específica de la contemplación cristiana." Madrid, 1926.

931. Villada, R. P., S.J.: "De mística: ¿Es necesaria la contemplación mística para la perfección cristiana? ¿Se puede desear la contemplación infusa? Su constitutivo. Algunas cuestiones de nombre. La contemplación adquirida," in *Razón y Fe*, 1918–19, vol. liii, pp. 37–48, 172–82, 413–32; vol. liv, pp. 198–214.
[See also Nos. 959, 968, below.]

V. Additional Bibliography of the Authors studied in Volume I

[Continuation of *S.S.M.*, I., Bibliography, Nos. 89–876.]

ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA

932. Manresa: Revista trimestral de ejercicios, redactada por PP. de la Compañía de Jesús. Manresa, 1925 ff. In progress.
[Deals primarily with the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius. Vol. iii, pp. 44–45, has an important review of P. Codina's work (No. 1040, below).]

933. Gabriel de Jesús, R.P. Fr.: *Ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio y Santa Teresa para religiosas.* Madrid, 1912.
[Adapts the material found in St. Teresa's works to the plan of St. Ignatius' *Exercises*.]

934. Van Dyke, Paul: *Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits.* London, 1926.
[See also Nos. 1039, 1040, below.]

LUIS DE GRANADA

935. Llaneza, R.P. Fr. Maximino, O.P.: *Bibliografía del V.P.M. Fray Luis de Granada.* Salamanca, 1926–28, 4 vols.

936. Switzer, R.; *The Ciceronian Style in Fray Luis de Granada.* New York, 1927.

FRANCISCO DE OSUNA

937. A French translation of the *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual* has been running through *Orient*, at intervals, in the volumes from 1923 to 1926. An English translation, to be published in book form, is in preparation.

ST. TERESA

938. Santa Teresa : *Su vida.* Madrid, 1927. 2 vols.
[A popular pocket edition.]

939. Aguado, R.P. José María : " Relaciones entre Santa Teresa y Felipe II," in *La Ciencia Tomista*, 1927, Año xix, pp. 29–56.

940. Arintero, R.P. Fr. Juan G., O.P. : " Influencia de Santa Teresa en el progreso de la teología mística," in *La Ciencia Tomista*, 1923, Año xv, No. 82, pp. 48–70.

941. Arintero, R.P. Fr. Juan G., O.P. : " Unidad y grados de la vida espiritual según las *Moradas* de Santa Teresa," in *La Vida Sobrenatural*, May 1923.

942. Barrès, Maurice : *Les Maîtres.* Paris, 1927.
[Has a chapter on St. Teresa.]

943. Bertrand, L. : *Sainte Thérèse.* Paris, 1927.
[Also a Spanish translation by E. Dugi. Madrid, 1927.]

944. Castro, Américo : *Santa Teresa y otros ensayos.* Madrid, 1929.

945. Chesterton, Ada E. : *St. Teresa.* London, 1928.
[A popular biography.]

946. Cunninghame Graham, Gabriela : *Santa Teresa.* Versión castellana por I. Alonso. Madrid, 1927.

947. Galzy, J. : *Sainte Thérèse d'Avila.* Paris, 1927.

948. García, F. : " El feminismo teresiano," in *España y América*, 1927, vol. xxv, pp. 25–36.

949. Graciano Martínez, R.P. : " Santa Teresa de Jesús : la Enamorada," in *España y América*, 1924, Año xxii, pp. 241–52, 321–30.

950. Graciano Martínez, R.P. : " Santa Teresa ante los neurólogos," in *España y América*, 1925, Año xxiii, pp. 3–12, 161–71, 241–50.

951. Maw, M. B. : *Buddhist Mysticism.* A study based upon a comparison with the mysticism of St. Theresa and Juliana of Norwich. Bordeaux, 1924.

952. Urbano, R.P. Luis, O.P. : *Las analogías predilectas de Santa Teresa de Jesús.* Madrid, 1925.
[*Cf.* articles in *La Ciencia Tomista*, 1923–4, Años xv, xvi.]
[See also Nos. 933, above, and 958, 968, 1317, 1322–3, 1809, below.]

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

953. The first volumes of the new (1929 ff.) Burgos edition of the works of St. John of the Cross (uniform with *S.S.M.*, I., Bibl., No. 450) are appearing as this volume goes to press. Several of the popular editions and studies cited below, together with others not included for lack of space, owe their existence to the interest aroused by St. John of the Cross' having been proclaimed by Pius XI a Doctor of the Church Universal, and by the second centenary of his canoniza-

tion. In this connexion, no student should miss (**954**) the special number of *La Vie Spirituelle* for 1926, devoted to St. John of the Cross, which contains important articles by Dom Philippe Chevalier, P. Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P., and P. Gabriel de Ste. Marie-Madeleine, O.C.D.

955. *Obras de San Juan de la Cruz.* Edición popular. Burgos, 1925.
[Edited by P. Eduardo de Santa Teresa. Text based on P. Gerardo (*S.S.M.*, I., Bibl., No. 575).]

956. *Obras de San Juan de la Cruz.* Madrid, 1926.
[A popular edition, anonymously edited.]

957. *Cántico Espiritual y Poesías de San Juan de la Cruz, según el códice de Sanlúcar de Barrameda.* Edición y notas del P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C.D. Burgos, 1928.

958. Arintero, R.P. Fr. Juan G., O.P.: "Influencia de Santo Tomás en la mística de San Juan de la Cruz y Santa Teresa," in *Vida Sobrenatural*, 1924, vol. viii, pp. 21–42.

959. Crisógono de Jesús Sacramentado, R.P. Fr., C.D.: *San Juan de la Cruz, su obra científica y su obra literaria.* Madrid, 1929. 2 vols.

960. Evaristo de la Virgen del Carmen, R.P. Fr.: *San Juan de la Cruz.* Toledo, 1927.
[A popular biography.]

961. Garrigou-Lagrange, R.P. Reg., O.P.: *Perfection chrétienne et contemplation selon S. Thomas d'Aquin et S. Jean de la Croix.* Saint-Maximin, 1924.

962. *Homenaje de devoción y amor a San Juan de la Cruz. Crónica y conferencias místicas del segundo centenario de su canonización, celebrado en Segovia en octubre de* 1927. Segovia, 1928.

963. Hoornaert, R.: *L'âme ardente de Saint Jean de la Croix.* Bruges, 1928.

964. José de Jesús María, R.P., C.D. [see *S.S.M.*, I., Bibl., No. 632]. *Vida de San Juan de la Cruz.* Burgos, 1927.

965. *Life of St. John of the Cross.* London, Thomas Baker, 1927.
[An anonymous popular biography.]

966. *Light on Mount Carmel.* London, 1926.
[An English version of Besse's *Éclaircissements* (*S.S.M.*, I., Bibl., No. 610).]

967. Louis de la Trinité, R.P. Fr., C.D.: "Le procès de beatification de S. Jean de la Croix et le 'Cantique Spirituel,'" in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 1927, pp. 39–50, 165–87.

968. Marie-Joseph du Sacré-Cœur, R.P. Fr., C.D.: "La contemplation acquise est enseignée à leurs disciples par saint Jean de la Croix et sainte Thérèse: nouveaux témoignages qui le confirment," in *Études Carmélitaines*, 1925, vol. x, pp. 109–32.

969. Marie-Joseph du Sacré-Cœur, R.P. Fr., C.D.: "Saint Jean de la Croix mieux connu," in *Études Carmélitaines*, 1926, vol. xi, pp. 1–27.
[Preceded by informatory matter (pp. i–x) on the proclamation of the Saint as a Doctor of the Church Universal.]

LUIS DE LEÓN

So many books and articles have been published on the occasion of the quatercentenary of the birth of Luis de León that only a few can here be mentioned. A list of considerable length will be found in the bibliographical pages of the (**970**) *Revista de Filología Española* (1928, vol. xv, pp. 434–36), and a large number of articles appear in (**971**) *Religión y Cultura* for 1928.

972. *Lyrics of Luis de León.* With English renderings by Aubrey F. G. Bell. London, 1928.

973. Bell, Aubrey F. G.: "The Chronology of Luis de León's lyrics," in *Modern Language Review*, 1928, vol. xxiii, pp. 56–60.
[Other articles in this review by this and the following authors.]

974. Entwistle, W. J.: "Fray Luis de León's life in his lyrics: a new interpretation," in *Revue Hispanique*, 1927, vol. lxxi, pp. 176–224.

975. Getino, R.P. Luis, O.P.: "Nuevas poesías de Fray Luis de León," in *La Ciencia Tomista*, 1927, vol. xxxvi, pp. 202–9.

976. Llobera, R.P. José, S.J.: "Proyecto de una edición crítica de las poesías originales de Luis de León," in *Religión y Cultura*, 1929, Año ii, pp. 90–102.

JUAN DE LOS ÁNGELES

977. *Diálogo de la conquista del reino de Dios.* Madrid, 1926.

978. Domínguez Berrueta, Juan: *Fray Juan de los Ángeles.* Madrid, 1927.
[A small critical manual.]

An important review (**979**) of three books on *Juan de los Ángeles*, by P. Atanasio López, O.F.M., is to be found in *A.I.A.*, 1925, Año xii, pp. 109–20.

VI. Bibliography of the Authors studied in this Volume

The note given under V in *S.S.M.*, I, p. 413, is applicable also to the present section. It should be observed, however, that the full list of abbreviations used in this volume is given on pp. 393–4, above.

GARCÍA DE CISNEROS

Most of the works mentioned below will be found, carefully and exhaustively described, together with a few (not here indicated) of which very little is known, in Dom Anselm M. Albareda's *Bibliografia dels monjos de Montserrat* (*Segle xvi*) (No. 1033, below). Further useful references are to be found in the bibliography to St. Ignatius of Loyola in *S.S.M.*, I., Nos. 89–199, especially in Nos. 103 ("Fontes externi: Cisnerii Exercitatorium," pp. 94–123), 124, 128, 129, 189, 198, 199.

NOTE.—The following MSS. are also described in No. 1033, pp. 43 ff.: Liber Cæremoniarum Montisserrati [R.B.E.]; Ceremonial de Montserrat [Mont.]; Constituciones de los Monges [Mont.]; Constituciones de los donados de Montserrat [Mont.]; Constituciones de los capellanes que vivían en Montserrat [Mont.]; Regula puerorum [R.B.E.]; Regla y modo de vivir de los escolanes de Montserrate [B.N., Paris]; Constitutiones heremitarum Montisserrati [Mont.]; Constituciones de los PP. Hermitaños [Mont.]

I

(*a*) EDITIONS IN SPANISH

980. *Directorio de las horas canónicas.* Montserrat, 1500. [See No. 1033, p. 94.]

981. *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual.* Montserrat, 1500. [B.M., B.U., Mont.]

Later editions are: (**982**) Barcelona, 1530. [No copy found.] (**983**) Seville, 1534. [No copy found.] (**984**) Medina del Campo, 1547. [B. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.] (**985**)† Valencia, 1564. [B.N.] (**986**) Barcelona, 1857. [B.Cat., B.U., Mont.]

(*b*) EDITIONS IN LATIN

987. *Constitutiones Monachorum Montisserrati.* Barcelona (?), 1501. [No copy found. See No. 1033.]

988. *Directorium horarum canonicarum.* Montserrat, 1500. [B.N., Mont.]

Later editions are: (**989**) Rome, 1605 [no copy found], together with editions of the *Exercitatorium* which contain the *Directorium* also, and which are denoted by an asterisk in the list which follows.

990. *Exercitatorium vitæ spiritualis.* Montserrat, 1500. [B.N., B.U., Mont.]

On the question of priority as between this and No. 981, see No. 1033, pp. 58–61, 142–4, and text, p. 10, above.

Later editions in Latin are: (**991**)* Paris, 1511. [No copy found.] (**992**)* Venice, 1555. [B.Nat., B.U.] (**993**)* Salamanca, 1559. [No copy found.] (**994**)* Salamanca, 1569. [Mont.] (**995**) Barcelona, 1570. [B.S.I., B.U.] (**996**) Ingolstad, 1591. [B. Barberini, Vatican.] (**997**)* Cracovia, 1601. [No copy found.] (**998**)* Douai, 1615. [B.Nat., B. Angelica, Rome.] (**999**)* Ingolstad, 1615. [No copy found.] (**1000**)* Cologne, 1644. [Mont.] (**1001**)* Salamanca, 1712. [B.N., Mont., Sal. U.] (**1002**)* Ratisbon, 1856. [Mont.] (**1003**)* Naples, 1858. [Mont.]

† Contains also the *Directorio* (No. 980, above).
* Contains also the *Directorium* (No. 988, above).

(*c*) Abridged Editions, Anthologies, etc., in Spanish or Latin

1004. *Compendio breve de ejercicios espirituales, sacados de un libro llamado Ejercitatorio de vida espiritual . . . en el cual Ejercitatorio se hallará todo lo que en este breve tratado se escribe más copiosamente, con muchos avisos y reglas pertenecientes al ejercicio espiritual de la contemplación.*

Lo que en este compendio se contiene son: cinco maneras de ejercicios espirituales, conviene saber, Vía purgativa, Vía iluminativa, Vía unitiva. La Vida de Cristo y su pasión, repartido por los días de la semana. Con un directorio de las horas canónicas. [Colophon: Barcelona, 1535.] [B.U.] On this work, see No. 1033, pp. 110–11.

Later editions are: (**1005**) Barcelona, 1564. [B.U., Mont.] (**1006**) Salamanca, 1571. [B.N.] (**1007**) Barcelona, 1580, and (**1008**) Salamanca, 1583. [B. del Seminario de Barcelona.] (**1009**) Valladolid, 1599. [No copy found.] (**1010**) Barcelona, 1627. [B.U.] (**1011**) Barcelona, 1630. [Mont.] (**1012**) Barcelona, 1633. [B.U.] (**1013**) Barcelona, 1647. [No copy found.] (**1014**) Barcelona, 1700. [Mont.] (**1015**) Salamanca, 1712. [Mont.] (**1016**) Barcelona, 17 . . ? . [See No. 1033, pp. 140–2.]

1017. *Instrucción de religiosos del Orden de N.P. San Benito, y Ejercicios Espirituales.* Sacados de las obras de los venerables Padres Fr. García de Cisneros, Ludovico Blosio y Fr. Antonio de Alvarado, Abades de la misma religión, por orden de N.R.P.M. Fr. Antonio de Heredia, General de la Congregación de España e Inglaterra, etc. Salamanca, 1672. [B.U.]

[A large part of this work is really a text-book of mystical theology.]

1018. *Exercitia spiritualia, sive secundum viam purgativam, illuminativam et unitivam orandi et meditandi methodus; ante centum et amplius annos a R.P. Garsia a Cisneros . . . conscripta.* Ad facilem usum a R.P.F. Matthæo Weis . . . digesta. Salzburg, 1629. [See No. 1033, pp, 131–2.]

II

Modern Editions in Spanish or Latin

1019. "Constitutiones heremitarum Montisserrati," in Dom Anselm M. Albareda: *L'Arxiu antic de Montserrat*, Montserrat, 1920, pp. 125–40. [With commentary.]

1020. *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual.* Reproducido conforme a la primera edición por el R.P. Fausto Curiel. Barcelona, 1912.

III

(*a*) Translations into English

1021. *A Book of Spiritual Exercises and a Directory for the Canonical Hours*, written by Garcias Cisneros (*sic*), of the Order of St. Benedict, Abbot of Monserrat (*sic*). Translated [from the Latin version] by a monk of St. Augustine's Monastery, Ramsgate. London, 1876.

1022. *Book of Exercises for the Spiritual Life*, written in the year 1500 by García Jiménez de Cisneros and translated from the original Spanish by E. Allison Peers. Montserrat, 1929.

(*b*) Selected Translations into other Modern Languages

1023. *Directori de les hores canòniques.* [Translated, with an introduction, by Dom S. Obiols.] Montserrat, 1925.

1024. *Exercitatori de la vida espiritual.* [Translated by Dom Ambrôs M. Busquets.] Montserrat, 1925.

1025. *Exercices spirituels du vénérable père Dom Garcie de Cisneros.* Traduits d'espagnol en français par le P. Dom Anselme Theuart. . . . Paris, 1655. [B.Nat., B. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.]

An earlier edition (**1026**) in French, which is said to have been published in 1585, at Paris, is described by Dom Anselm Albareda (No. 1033).

1027. *Exercices spirituels et directoire des heures canoniales, écrits en espagnol en l'an* 1500, par Dom Garcias Cisneros (*sic*), O.S.B. Traduits en français par l'abbé Joseph Rousseau. Paris, 1902.

1028. *Schule des geistlichen Lebens auf den Wegen der Beschauung*, von Garcia de Cisneros, O.S.B., Abt von Montserrat . . . aus dem Lateinschen übertragen von Maria Raphaela Schlichtner, O.S.B. Freiburg, 1923.

[Contains an interesting introductory study by Dr. Erhard Drinkwelder.]

1029. *Esercizio della vita spirituale, con il direttorio delle hore canoniche.* Tradotti dal latino nella nostra lingua volgare. [Venice, 1557.] [Mont.]

1030. *Esercitatorio della vita spirituale . . . Direttorio delle hore canoniche. . . . Regole et avvertimenti per coloro, che non sono esercitati nella orazione mentale.* Florence, 1595. [B. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.]

Republished (**1031**) Rome, 1635. [No. 1033, pp. 135–36.]

IV

1032. "Vida del Venerable y Reverendísimo Padre Fr. García de Cisneros, Abad del insigne monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, de la Orden de Nuestro Padre San Benito." [Forms fols. 107–24 of *Regla, Vida y Milagros de nuestro glorioso P.S. Benito*, etc. Barcelona, 1633.] [B.U.]

1033. Albareda, R.P. Anselm M., O.S.B.: *Bibliografia dels monjos de Montserrat* (*Segle xvi*). Montserrat, 1928, pp. 43–142.

1034. Albers, R.P. Bruno, O.S.B.: *Der Geist des heiligen Benedictus in seinem Wesen und seinen Grundzügen dargestellt.* Freiburg, 1917.

1035. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42). Madrid, 1783. Vol. i, p. 512.

1036. Argaiz, R.P. Fr. Gregorio de: *La Perla de Cataluña: Historia de Nuestra Señora de Montserrate, etc.* Madrid, 1677. [Mont.]

[Chapters 42 ff. relate the life of Cisneros and his companions at Montserrat.]

1037. Besse, R.P. Jean Martial, O.S.B.: "Une question d'histoire littéraire au seizième siècle. L'Exercice de Garcias de Cisneros et les Exercices de Saint Ignace," in *Revue des questions historiques*, 1897, vol. lxi, pp. 22–51.

1038. Chastonay, R.P. Paul de, S.J.: "Des Abtes Garcia Cisneros geistliches Übungsbuch," in *Stimmen der Zeit*, 1918, vol. xciv, pp. 497–506.

1039. Codina, R.P. Arturo, S.J.: "Los *Ejercicios* de S. Ignacio y el *Ejercitatorio* del P. Cisneros," in *Razón y Fe*, 1917, vol. xlviii, pp. 286–99, 426–36.

1040. Codina, R.P. Arturo, S.J.: *Los Orígenes de los Ejercicios Espirituales de S. Ignacio de Loyola. Estudio histórico.* Barcelona, 1926.

1041. Colomé, Ramón: "El V.P. García Jiménez de Cisneros, Abad de Montserrat," in *Revista Montserratina*, 1910, Año iv, pp. 457–463.

1042. Drinkwelder, Otto: "Abt Garcias de Cisneros und seine Übungsschule des geistlichen Lebens," in *Benediktinische Monatsschrift*, July–August, 1921.

1043. Handmann, R.P. Rudolf, S.J.: "Die Autorschaft der Exerzitien oder geistlichen Übungen," in *Linzer Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift*, 1903, vol. lvi, pp. 764–95.

1044. Navarro, R.P. Emmanuel: *Vida del P. Cisneros.* [Written in Spanish, this biography occupies pp. 1–120 of the edition of the *Exercitatorium spirituale*, etc., published at Salamanca in 1712. (Bibl., No. 1001.)]

1045. Pérez de Urbel, R.P. Justo: *Semblanzas Benedictinas.* Madrid, 1926. 3 vols. [Vol. ii, pp. 235–39, treats of Cisneros.]

1046. Pierdet, R.P., O.S.B.: "Origen literario del libro de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola," in *Revista eclesiástica.* Valladolid, 1916, vol. xxxviii, pp. 496–511.

1047. Plenkers, Dom Heribert: "Un manuscrit de Montserrat," in *Revue Bénédictine.* Maredsous, 1900, vol. xvii, pp. 362–78.
[Describes a *liber usuum*, which may be the work of Cisneros. *Cf.* No. 1033, p. 53.]

1048. Renedo Martino, R.P. Agustín, O.S.A.: *Escritores palentinos.* El Escorial, 1919–26. 3 vols. [Vol. iii, pp. 366–76, has a brief bio-bibliography of García de Cisneros.]

1049. Watrigant, R.P. H., S.J.: "La Genèse des exercices de Saint Ignace." Amiens, 1897. Reprinted from *Études publiées par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1897, vol. lxxi, pp. 506–29; vol. lxxii, pp. 195–216; vol. lxxiii, pp. 199–228.

1050. Watrigant, R.P. H., S.J.: *Quelques promoteurs de la méditation méthodique au quinzième siècle.* Enghien, 1919.

1051. Yepes, Antonio de: *Crónica general de la Orden de San Benito.* Valladolid, 1613. 7 vols.

BERNARDINO DE LAREDO

I

(*a*) Editions in Spanish

1052. *Metaphora medicinæ ; con dc autoridades declaradas sin contar cxciiij aphorismos, que hacen la quinta parte, ni otros xx textos juntos que están al fin de la quarta.* Es pues nuevamente copilada por un fraile menor de la Provincia de los Ángeles, a gloria y honra de Dios. Seville, 1522.

[This is Escudero's description, from the copy in B. Colombina, Seville. B.N. has two copies, but both are imperfect, lacking several of the first and last pages.]

Gallardo (Bibl., No. 897), vol. iii, col. 295, no. 2611, cites an edition (**1053**) of Seville, 1536, but no idea can be gained of its present whereabouts, if it is still extant.

1054. *Subida del Monte Sion por la vía contemplativa. Contiene el conocimiento nuestro, y el seguimiento de Cristo, y el reverenciar a Dios en la contemplación quieta.* Copilado en un convento de frailes menores. Seville, 1535. [B.N., B.N.L., B.Ter., Sal. U.]

1055. *Subida del Monte Sion nuevamente renovada, como en la vuelta de esta hoja se verá, etc.* Seville, 1538. [B.N., B.N.L., *Cf.* Esc., No. 394.]

1056. *Subida del Monte Sion, por la vida contemplativa. Contiene el conocimiento nuestro y el seguimiento de Cristo y el reverenciar a Dios en la contemplación quieta.* Copilado en un convento de frailes menores. Infinitamente amable es la gran bondad de Dios. Seville, 1540. [B.N.]

Later editions are :

1057. Medina del Campo, 1542. [A "second impression," described as "nuevamente renovada."] [B.M. *Cf.* P.P.M., No. 30.]

1058. Seville, 1553. [Esc., No. 558. Details taken from N. Ant. No copy found.]

1059. Valencia, 1590, "corregida . . . por G. Alcocer." [B.M.]

1060. Alcalá, 1617. [B.N., B.S.I., Vall. U.] This edition adds, after the long title quoted above, (No. 1056), "compuesto por Bernardino de Laredo, Fraile lego de la Provincia de los Ángeles de la orden del S.P.S. Francisco, como se colige de la cuarta parte de las Crónicas de la misma orden, aunque el autor por su humildad no quiso manifestar su nombre."

For the *Josephina*, a separate work from the *Subida*, but bound up with each of its editions, see text, pp. 44, 74–75, above.

(*b*) Editions in Latin

1061. *Modus faciendi cum ordine medicandi.* Seville, 1527.

[Gr.U.—Esc., No. 268, also gives B.N., but no copy could be found there either in 1928 or in 1929.—N.Ant. (B. Hisp.

Nova, vol. ii, p. 332) gives a first edition of Seville, 1522. Of this nothing seems to be known.]

Later editions are :

1062. Seville, 1534.

[Esc., No. 347, gives this as being in B.N., but no copy could be found there either in 1928 or in 1929. In No. 428, he describes the third edition (**1063**) of Seville, 1542, as having been lost from B.N. Apparently the first two have now followed it.]

III

1064. *Traité des mystères du très glorieux Saint Joseph*, publié en 1535 par le frère Bernardin de Laredo, franciscain, etc. Traduction, notes et introduction par le père Michel-Ange, capucin. Toulouse, 1925. [*Cf.* review in *A.I.A.*, 1925, Año xii, pp. 126–31.]

IV

1065. Antonio, Nicolás : *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42), vol. i, pp. 217–18 ; vol. ii, p. 332.

1066. Gallardo, Bartolomé José : *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*. Madrid, 1863–89, vol. iii, col. 295. [See No. 897, above.]

1067. Gonzaga, Francesco : *De origine seraphica Religionis Provinciæ Angelorum, etc.* Rome, 1587. P. 934.

1068. Guadalupe, R.P. Andrés de : *Crónica de la provincia de los Ángeles*. Madrid, 1662. Pp. 322–39.

1069. Peers, E. Allison : *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*. London, 1924. Pp. 16–17, 75–81, 192–6.

1070. Peers, E. Allison : " A Forgotten Franciscan Mystic, Bernardino de Laredo," in *Dublin Review*, 1927. No. 362, pp. 33–50.

1071. Wadding, Luke : *Annales Minorum, seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum, etc.* Rome, 1731–1886. Vol. xviii (1545), Nos. 24–7.

ST. THOMAS OF VILLANUEVA

B.M., B.N., and other libraries have a very large number of pamphlets and other works of small importance relating to this writer. Only the principal books and articles are included in the list below.

I

(*a*) Editions of Collected Works

1072. *Sancti Thomæ a Villanova . . . opera omnia. . . .* Augsburg, 1757. [B.M., B.Sem. Cuenca.]

1073. *Sancti Thomæ a Villanova . . . Opera omnia . . . quinque tomis distributa, studio R.P.M. Fr. Emmanuelis Vidal, etc.* Salamanca, 1761–64. 5 vols. [B.M., B.Sem. Cuenca, Val. U.]

1074. *Omnia opera, quæ hactenus reperiri potuerunt.* Editio prima veneta. Venice, 1790. [C.A.F.V.]

(*b*) Editions of Single Works

1075. *Conciones sacræ illustrissimi et reverendissimi D. D. Thomæ a Villanova, ex ordine eremitarum divi Augustini, Archiepiscopi Valentini, et in sacra Theologia magistri.* Nunc primum in lucem editæ, etc. Alcalá, 1572. [B.S.I., B.Sem. Cuenca, R.B.E.] This edition was prepared by P. Pedro de Uceda, Rector of the College of Alcalá, but he was transferred to Salamanca and published one volume only.

Later editions are :

1076. Alcalá, 1581. [B. Cat., B.M.P., B.N.L., B.S.I., S.C.Vall., Sal. U., Sant. U.]

1077. Salamanca, 1581. [See P. Gregorio de Santiago Vela, O.S.A., in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, vol. x, p. 234. No copy found.]

1078. Cologne, 1587. [B. Sem. Cuenca.]

1079. Brescia, 1603. [B.U., C.A.F.V.]

1080. Cologne, 1614. [N. Ant. No copy found.]

1081. Cologne, 1616. [N. Ant. No copy found.]

1082. Cologne, 1619. [B.N.L.]

1083. Cologne, 1651. [See No. 1120, below.]

1084. Rome, 1659. [B. Barberini, Vatican.]

1085. Cologne, 1661. [N. Ant. No copy found.]

1086. Cologne, 1685. 2 vols. [B.N.L., B.S.I., B.U.]

1087. Brussels, 1685–1703. 4 vols. [B.N., B.N.L., B.U.]

1088. Cologne, 1687. 2 vols. [B. Cat.]

1089. Antwerp, 1690. [See No. 1120, below.]

1090. Venice, 1740. [See No. 1120, below.]

1091. Augsburg, 1757. [See No. 1120, below.]

1092. Milan, 1760. 2 vols. [B. Cat., S.C. Vall.]

1093. Salamanca, 1761. [See No. 1120, below.]

1094. *Constitutiones Collegii majoris B.V. Maria de Templo, etc.* Valencia, 1760. [Val. U.]

II

(*a*) Modern Edition of Collected Works

1095. *Opera omnia.* . . . Manila, 1881 ff. 6 vols.
[This edition contains many of the opuscules first published in periodicals during the late nineteenth century.]

(*b*) Modern Editions of Single Works

(In chronological order of their publication)

1096. " Cartas del Cardenal Seripando y de Santo Tomás de Villanueva," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1881, vol. i, pp. 132–6.

1097. " Cartas inéditas de Santo Tomás de Villanueva," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1881, vol. ii, pp. 263–6, 402–7, 519–23 ; 1882, vol. iii, pp. 215–18, 401–3, 515–18.

[Less important unpublished fragments are to be found in the *Revista Agustiniana*, 1883, vol. vi, pp. 564–5; 1885, vol. x, pp. 327–33; 1886, vol. xi, pp. 205–11.]

1098. "Tres opúsculos castellanos de Santo Tomás de Villanueva" ("Modo breve de servir a Nuestro Señor en diez reglas," "Explicación de las bienaventuranzas," "Soliloquio que entre Dios y el alma conviene hacerse después de la Sagrada Comunión"), in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1884, vol. viii, pp. 397–406, 498–507; 1885, vol. ix, pp. 12–23, 113–23.

[These three opuscules are reprinted from a volume published in Madrid, by Joaquín Ibarra, in 1763. They are also in No. 1095, above, and were reprinted separately by the *Revista Agustiniana* in Valladolid, 1885.]

1099. "Tres sermones castellanos inéditos de Santo Tomás de Villanueva," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1888, vol. xv, pp. 27–32, 175–80, 314–18.

1100. "Opúsculos castellanos inéditos de Santo Tomás de Villanueva," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1891, vol. xxvi, pp. 274–82, 334–55, 410–23.

1101. "Dos opúsculos castellanos inéditos de Santo Tomás de Villanueva," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1891, vol. xxiv, pp. 561–70.

1102. "Un nuevo opúsculo castellano de Santo Tomás de Villanueva," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1898, vol. xlviii, pp. 172–5.

1103. *Biblia Mariana, según Santo Tomás de Villanueva, Arzobispo de Valencia, o sea Exposición de los sagrados libros relativa a la Sma. Virgen, entresacada de sus obras.* Lérida, 1908.

III

1104. *Ein Büchlein von der göttlichen Liebe.* Nach dem hl. Thomas von Villanova, übersetzt von Dr. Fr. Kausen. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1872.

[A translation of the three sermons for the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost.]

IV

1105. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42), vol. ii, pp. 317–18.

1106. Baxius, R.P. Nicasius: *Sanctus Thomas a Villanova, cognomento eleemosynarius, etc. Synopsis vitæ.* Munich, 1659. [B.M.]

1107. Cantón, Jerónimo: *Vida y milagros del B.P. y Señor Tomás de Villanueva.* Barcelona, 1623. [H.S.A.]

1108. Esteban, R.P. Fr. Eustasio, O.S.A.: "Conciones y fragmentos inéditos de Santo Tomás de Villanueva: lista de lo que contiene una copia MS. de los escritos del santo," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1886, vol. xii, pp. 5–14.

[The same author (vol. xii, pp. 101–3) also contributes some "Variantes de las Conciones de Santo Tomás de Villanueva."]

1109. Fernández Navarrete, Martín [and others]: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España.* Madrid, 1844, vol. v, pp. 74–137.

[One group of these documents consists of letters from St. Thomas of Villanueva, chiefly to Charles V and Philip II; another group relates to the Saint's canonization.]

1110. Fuster, Buenaventura: *Vida de Santo Tomás de Villanueva.* Valencia, 1652.

1111. Geminiano da S. Mansueto, R.P.: *Dottrine e azioni di S. Tommaso de Villanova, etc.* Milan, 1761.

1112. Gómez de Quevedo Villegas, Francisco: *Vida del B.P. Fr. Tomás de Villanueva.* Madrid, 1620.

[A convenient edition to consult is that of (**1113**) *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. xlviii, pp. 58–69.]

The above-described biography was adapted in French, by (**1114**) Maimbourg, Paris, 1659. Maimbourg in his turn served as a basis for F. W. Faber in:

1115. *The Lives of St. Thomas of Villanova, Archbishop of Valentia and Augustinian Friar; and of St. Francis Solano, Apostle of Peru, of the Order of St. Francis.* London, 1847. ("The Saints and Servants of God.")

Faber's free translation was afterwards published in America:

1116. *The Life of St. Thomas of Villanova, Archbishop of Valentia and Augustinian Friar.* With an introductory sketch of the men, the manners and the morals of the sixteenth century. Philadelphia, 1874. [Second edition: Philadelphia, 1879.]

1117. Maturana, R.P. Victor: *Vida de Santo Tomás de Villanueva.* Santiago de Chile, 1908.

1118. Monasterio, R.P. Ignacio, O.S.A.: *Místicos agustinos españoles.* Madrid, 1929, vol. i, pp. 77–100. [*Cf.* No. 915, above.]

1119. Moral, R.P. Bonifacio: "Catálogo de escritores agustinos españoles, portugueses y americanos: . . . Santo Tomás de Villanueva," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1891, vol. xxvi, pp. 451–66.

1120. R[odríguez], R.P. Fr. T[omás]: "Ediciones de las Conciones de Santo Tomás de Villanueva," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1881, vol. i, pp. 305–11.

1121. Rodríguez, R.P. Fr. Tomás: "Santo Tomás de Villanueva y el movimiento literario del siglo xvi," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1891, vol. xxiv, pp. 32–47, 196–206, 450–62; vol. xxv, pp. 90–101, 354–66, 481–93.

1122. Salón, R.P.F. Miguel, O.S.A.: *Libro de la vida santa y milagros del ilustrísimo señor don fray Tomás de Villanueva, arzobispo de Valencia, de la orden de San Agustín.* Valencia, 1588.

[No copy found.]

This work was revised and enlarged as:

1123. *Vida y milagros del ilustrísimo y reverendísimo señor el B.P.D.F. Tomás de Villanueva, etc.* Valencia, 1620. [B.M., Sal. U.]

2nd impression. Valencia, 1652. [B. Cat.] 3rd impression. Madrid, 1670. [No copy found.] 4th impression. Salamanca, 1737. [Sal. U.] 5th impression. Madrid, 1793. [B.N., H.S.A.] Italian translation by P. Soto. Rome, 1619. [B.M.]

1124. Santiago Vela, R.P. Gregorio, O.S.A.: "Sermones castellanos de Sto. Tomás de Villanueva," in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, vol. x, pp. 224 ff.

1125. Villanueva, J. L.: in *Año Cristiano de España*. Madrid, 1783, vol. ix, pp. 236 ff.

1126. *Vita di S. Tomaso da Villanova, Arcivescovo di Valenza dell'ordine di S. Agostino, detto Padre de' poveri. Canonizato dal Sommo Pontefice Alessandro VII, il primo di Novembre*, 1658. Rome, 1658. [Bibl. Barberini, Vatican, Rome, which has three separate editions published in this year.]

ST. PETER OF ALCÁNTARA

I

(*a*) Editions in Spanish

The earliest editions of the *Tratado de la Oración y Meditación* are extremely rare. P. Michel-Ange claims to have traced "at least one hundred and fifty," which he proposes to describe in *Orient*, 1930 ff. I give chiefly those the existence of which seems well authenticated. I have personally seen no copy earlier than that of 1624.

1127. Lisbon, ? 1558. [The Blavio edition (p. 109, above), date disputed.]
1128. Alcalá, 1558. [See No. 1161, below.]
1129. Lisbon, 1560. [Wadding, N. Ant.]
1130. Lisbon, 1562. [N. Ant.]
1131. Medina del Campo, 1563.
1132. Madrid, 1565.
1133. Alcalá, 1568. [Possibly also: Alcalá, 1572.]
1134. Alcalá, 1574.
1135. Alcalá, 1575. **1135a.** Lérida, 1578.
1136. Salamanca, 1578. [Wadding, N. Ant.]
1137. Burgos, 1579. [Wadding.] **1137a.** ? Salamanca, 1580. [N. Ant.]
1138. Barcelona, 1586. **1138a.** ? Seville, 1587.
1139. Medina del Campo, 1587. [P.P.M., No. 215. Reprinted, 1598.]
1140. Alcalá, 1589. **1140a.** ? Barcelona, 1608.
1141. Valladolid, 1620. [N. Ant.]
1142. Zaragoza, 1623. [Wadding, N. Ant.]
1143. Madrid, 1624. [B.S.I.]
1144. Madrid, 1625. [C.P.P., No. 2195.]
1145. Baeza, 1651. [B. Sem. Cuenca.]
1146. Lisbon, 1659. [B.N.L.]
1147. Madrid, 1670. [B.S.I.]
1148. Seville, 1689. [B.N., B.N.L.]
1149. Seville, 1699. [Sev. U.]

1150. Pamplona, 1720. [B.N.L.]
1151. Madrid, 1738. [B.N., B.S.I.]
1152. Madrid, 1739. [B.N.L.]
1153. Madrid, 1750. [B.N., B.N.L.]
1154. Madrid, 1758. [B.N.]
1155. Valladolid, 1796. [Alc., No. 1646.]

(*b*) Edition in Latin

1156. *De oratione et meditatione libellus.* Cologne, 1618. [B.S.I.]

II

1157. *Tratado de la Oración y Meditación*, recopilado por el Rdo. P. Fr. Pedro de Alcántara, reimpreso por un sacerdote devoto del Santo [Pablo Lafuente]. Madrid, 1882. [Follows edition No. 1139.] Another edition (**1158**) Santiago de Compostela, 1885.

1159. *Tratado de la Oración y Meditación*, por San Pedro de Alcántara. Le sigue un pequeño devocionario por Fr. Andrés de Ocerín-Jáuregui, O.F.M. Madrid, 1916.
[Reprinted in 1919.]

1160. *Tratado de la Oración.* Prólogo de "El doctor Majuelo." Salamanca, 1926.
[A popular edition.]

1161. *Tratado de la Oración*, por San Pedro de Alcántara, reimpreso por Fr. Maximino Llaneza, O.P. Salamanca, 1926.
[A literal reprint of the Martín de Lilio edition (Alcalá, 1558: *cf.* p. 109, above) which P. Cuervo found in the Barberini library of the Vatican.]

III

(*a*) Translations into English

1162. *A Golden Treatise of Mentall Praier, with diuerse spirituall rules and directions, no lesse profitable than necessarie for all sortes of people.* First composed by the venerable and blessed Father, Fr. Peter de Alcantara. Translated into English by G. W. [Giles Willoughby]. At Bruxelles. By the Widow of Hubert Antone, 1632.
[B.M.—The first English translation. To it is prefixed a brief life of the Saint, also by Willoughby. There is also an edition (**1163**) of this translation published at Liverpool in 1843.]

1164. *A Golden Treatise of Mental Prayer.* By S. Peter of Alcántara. A new translation [by G. F. Bullock], edited by George Seymour Hollings, S.S.J.E. London, 1905.
[Follows No. 1157. An adequate translation, but not without mistakes: *e.g.*, "Pbro." is translated "Publisher."]

1165. *Treatise on Prayer and Meditation.* Translated with an introduction by Dominic Devas, O.F.M. London, 1926.
[Contains also a version of Juan de Bonilla's *Pax Animæ*, which was long attributed to St. Peter of Alcántara.]

(*b*) Translations into other Modern Languages

French

1166. *Traité de l'Oraison et Méditation.* Composé en espagnol par Pierre d'Alcantara, religieux de l'ordre de S. François, et nouvellement traduit par R. G. A. G. Paris, 1606. [B. Nat.]

This seems to be the earliest now extant of the French translations. Later editions of it are: (**1167**) Paris, 1613. [B. Nat.]; (**1168**) Paris, 1628. [B. Nat.]

Other translations:

1169. *Vie et œuvres spirituelles de Saint Pierre d'Alcantara.* Traduites par J. Talon. Paris, 1670. [B. de l'Arsenal, Paris.]

1170. *Traité de l'Oraison mentale et de la dévotion et les méditations composé par Saint Pierre d'Alcantara.* Revue et mis (*sic*) dans la pureté de notre langue. . . . Par Pierre André de Favvel, Sieur de la Brière. Paris, 1670. [R.A.H.]

1171. *Œuvres spirituelles de Saint Pierre d'Alcantara*, précédées du portrait historique du Saint, par Sainte Térèse, traduites en français par le P. Marcel Bouix, S.J. Paris, 1862.

[Contains, besides the *Tratado*, two fragments from St. Peter of Alcántara's other writings, and some selections from St. Teresa.]

1172. *Traité de l'Oraison et de la Méditation*, par Saint Pierre d'Alcantara. Traduit par le P. Ubald d'Alençon, avec une introduction. Paris, 1923.

[Has a short but useful critical introduction.]

Italian

1173. P. Michel Ange (*R.A.B.M.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 357, n.) cites an Italian translation of 1561, and, in *Études Franciscaines*, vol. xxxvi, p. 142, an Italian translation of 1565 (Venice), as well as a Flemish translation of 1565 (Louvain) and a Catalan translation of 1586 (Barcelona).

1174. N. Ant. (vol. ii, pp. 166–7) lists an Italian translation of 1583, published at Florence.

Later translations are: **1174a.** ? Rome, 1598.

1175. *Trattato dell'oratione et meditatione, etc., composto per il reverendo padre F. Pietro di Alcantara, etc.* Rome, 1600. [B.M.]

1176. *Trattato dell'oratione e meditatione composto da San Pietro d'Alcantara, con aggiunta de documenti del P. Gio. d'Avila.* Napoli, 1676. [B.S.I.]

Portuguese

1177. *Tratado de oração e meditação.* Coimbra, 1760. [B.N.L.]

1178. *Livro de oração e meditação.* Porto, 1850. [B.N.L.]

IV

1179. *Acta Sanctorum, Octobris.* Tom. viii. Paris, 1866.

1180. Alonso de San Bernardo, R.P. Fr.: *Vita di S. Pietro d'Alcantara.* Naples, 1705. [B. Ter.] Second edition (**1181**) in Spanish ("Vida del glorioso S. Pedro de Alcántara," etc.). Madrid, 1783. [B. Ter.]

1182. Barrantes, Vicente: *San Pedro de Alcántara . . . vida y virtudes del extático varón, etc.* Madrid, 1880.

1183. Clemente, Giovanni: *Vita . . . di San Pietro d'Alcantara descritta in nove discorsi per la sua novenna.* Venice, 1712. [B.M.]

1184. Courtot, R.P. François: *Vie de Saint Pierre d'Alcantara.* Paris, 1670. [B.Nat.]

1185. Cuervo, R.P. Fr. Justo, O.P.: *Biografía de Fray Luis de Granada.* Madrid, 1895. [See *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 315.]

1186. Cuervo, R.P. Fr. Justo, O.P.: *Fray Luis de Granada, verdadero y único autor del Libro de la Oración.* Estudio crítico definitivo. Madrid, 1919.
[A reprint of articles in *R.A.B.M.*, 1918–19.]

1187. Damián de Jesús, R.P. Fr.: *Compendio de la vida y milagros del glorioso San Pedro de Alcántara, fundador de esta provincia de San José, con el Tratado de Oración y Meditación que escribió el santo, sacado de su original, etc.* Madrid, 1655. [B.N.]

1188. Diego de Madrid, R.P. Fr.: *Vida admirable del fenix seráfico y redivivo Francisco, San Pedro de Alcántara.* Madrid, 1765. [B.U.]

1189. Douay, A.: *Sommaire de la vie et de la mort du bienheureux père Pierre d'Alcantara, Religieux Recollect.* Paris, 1627.

1190. Dudon, R.P.: "Dans son Traité de l'Oraison saint Pierre d'Alcantara a-t-il démarqué Louis de Grenade?" in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 1921, vol. ii, pp. 384–401.
[Reply by P. Michel-Ange, No. 1212.]

1191. Fosco, R.P. Achile: "Una pagina della vita di S. Pietro d'Alcantara," in *Estudis Franciscans*, 1923, any xvii, pp. 189–206.

1192. Huerta, Antonio de: *Historia y admirable vida del glorioso padre S. Pedro de Alcántara, etc.* Madrid, 1669. [Sal. U.]

1193. Juan de San Bernardo, R.P. Fr.: *Crónica de la vida de . . . San Pedro de Alcántara.* Naples, 1667. [Italian translation (**1194**). Venice, 1717.] Another edition (**1195**). Madrid, 1750.

1196. Juan de Santa María, R.P. Fr.: *Vida, excelentes virtudes . . . del santo Fray Pedro de Alcántara.* Madrid, 1619. [Sal. U.]

1197. Laurent de Saint Paul, R.P. Fr.: *Portentum Pœnitentiae sive vita sancti Petri de Alcantara.* Rome, 1669.

1198. L[éon] S[arraute]: "Le problème de Saint Pierre d'Alcántara," in *Orient*, Carcassonne, 1923, vol. vii, pp. 443–51. [*Cf.* also pp. 469–79; 1924, pp. 43–9, 106–12, 167–72, 191–7.]

1199. Leonardo da Napoli, R.P. Fr.: *Chroniche degli ordini del P. S. Francesco.* Naples, 1680.

1200. Marchese, Francesco: *Vita di S. Pietro d'Alcantara . . .* raccolta dalli processi fatti per la sua canonizatione. Turin, 1669. [French

translation (**1201**) Lyon, 1670; English translation (**1202**), ed. F. W. Faber, in series "Saints and Servants of God." London, 1847.]

1203. Marcos de Alcalá, R.P. Fr.: *Crónica de la santa provincia de San Joseph. Vida portentosa del penitente admirable y contemplativo altísimo S. Pedro de Alcántara, etc.* Madrid, 1736. [B.M., B. Ter.]

1204. Martín de San José, R.P. Fr.: *Historia de . . . nuestro beato padre Fray Pedro de Alcántara . . . etc.* Arevalo, 1644. [B.M.]

1205. Miguel Ángel, R.P., O.M. Cap.: [P. Michel-Ange]: "Le véritable et unique auteur du 'Tratado de la Oración,'" in *R.A.B.M.*, 1916, vol. xxxv, pp. 139–222; 1917, vol. xxxvi, pp. 145–99, 321–68.

[The last article has "A suivre," but no further articles under this title appeared.]

1206. Miguel Ángel, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Sobre la paternidad del 'Tratado de oración y contemplación,'" in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1919, vol. xxiii, pp. 241–59.

1207. Miguel Ángel, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "A propósito del 'Tratado de Oración.' El ampliador," in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1920, vol. xxiv, pp. 93–113.

1208. Miguel Ángel, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Suyo y única y exclusivamente suyo," in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1920, vol. xxiv, pp. 249–69.

1209. Miguel Ángel, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "La réplica documentada," in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1921, vol. xxvi, pp. 401–28.

1210. Miguel Ángel, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Adoctrinado a la 'réplica,'" in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1922, vol. xxviii, pp. 99–110, 180–5, 342–58.

1211. Miguel Ángel, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "En solos cinco pliegos impreso," in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1923, vol. xxx, pp. 101–114.

[Comments in *A.I.A.*, 1923, vol. x, pp. 407–8.]

1212. Michel-Ange, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Louis de Grenade ou Saint Pierre d'Alcantara. L'édition de Lisbonne," in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 1922, vol. iii, pp. 312–32. [Answers No. 1190.]

1213. Michel-Ange, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Traité de l'oraison et de la méditation," in *Orient*, 1923, vol. vii, pp. 469–79.

1214. Michel-Ange, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Un autographe de saint Pierre d'Alcantara," in *Orient*, 1924, vol. viii, pp. 259–65.

1215. Michel-Ange, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Le Traité de Saint Pierre d'Alcantara," in *Études franciscaines*, 1924, vol. xxxvi, pp. 63–83, 141–63. [A reply by P. Ubald d'Alençon follows (**1216**), pp. 163–6, to which P. Michel-Ange replies in (**1217**) *Orient*, 1924, vol. viii, pp. 43–9, 73–6.]

1218. O'Connor, Armel: *The Life of St. Peter of Alcántara.* Bedworth, 1915.

[A brief, popular biography.]

1219. Olimpio Bonaventura Alvigi, R.P.: *Vita del B. Pietro d'Alcantara dell'Ordine de Minori Osservanti.* Guastalla, 1667.

1220. Peers, E. Allison: *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey.* London, 1924, pp. 17–18, 81–5, 197–200.

1221. Anon. [Pérez, R.P. Lorenzo, O.F.M.]: "Información sobre el 'Tratado de la oración y meditación' de San Pedro de Alcántara," in *A.I.A.*, 1917, vol. vii, pp. 290–7. [*Cf.* the author's "protest," *A.I.A.*, 1918, pp. 450–2.]

1222. Pérez, R.P. Lorenzo, O.F.M.: "¿Está resuelta la cuestión, etc.?" in *A.I.A.*, 1920, vol. xiv, pp. 112–25.

1223. Pérez, R.P. Lorenzo, O.F.M.: "Cuestionario histórico," in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1920, vol. xxv, pp. 189–202.

1224. Pérez, R.P. Lorenzo, O.F.M.: "La provincia de San José, fundada por San Pedro de Alcántara," in *A.I.A.*, 1922, vol. xvii, pp. 145–75.

1225. Talon, R.P. Jacques: *La Vie et les œuvres spirituelles de Saint Pierre d'Alcantara.* Paris, 1670.

1226. Ubald d'Alençon, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Un chapitre de l'histoire de l'amitié des Saints: S. Pierre d'Alcantara et S. François de Borja," in *Franciscana*, 1923, vol. xi, pp. 265–78.

1227. Ubald d'Alençon, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Saint Pierre d'Alcantara et Saint François de Borja," in *Estudis Franciscans*, 1923, any xvii, pp. 34–45.

1228. Ubald d'Alençon, R.P., O.M. Cap.: "Louis de Grenade ou Pierre d'Alcantara," in *Études franciscaines*, 1923, pp. 198–213.
[To this article is appended an extensive bibliography. *Cf.* also *Annales franciscaines*, 1923, pp. 60–1, 76–9.]

1229. *Vida de S. Pedro de Alcántara*, por un religioso de la orden de San Francisco. Madrid, 1913.

1230. *Vie admirable de S. Pierre d'Alcántara, religieux recollé.* Par un Père Recollé de la province de S. André. Douai, 1669.

1231. *Vie de Saint Pierre d'Alcantara, etc.*, par un membre du tiers-ordre de Saint-François. Paris, 1860.
[Contains the Latin text of the bull of canonization.]

JUAN DE ÁVILA

I

(*a*) Editions of Collected Works

1232. *Obras del padre maestro Juan de Ávila, predicador en el Andalucía, etc.* Madrid, 1568. [B. Sem. Conc., Segovia, B.U., Sal. U.]

1233. *Obras del padre maestro Juan de Ávila, predicador en el Andalucía, ahora de nuevo añadida la vida del autor, y las partes que ha de tener un predicador del evangelio*, por el padre fray Luis de Granada, etc. Madrid, 1588. [B.M., B.S.I., B.U., B. Prov., Toledo, C.P.P., No. 279.]

1234. *Primera parte de las obras del Padre Maestro Juan de Ávila, predicador en el Andalucía, etc.* Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1595. [B. Cat., B.N., B.M.P., B.S.I., H.S.A., T.L.B., C.P.P., No. 463.]
[Life; Libro Espiritual.]

1235. *Segunda parte de las obras del Padre Maestro Juan de Ávila, predicador en el Andalucía, etc.* Añadida en esta impresión, tercera parte al Epistolario. Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1595. [B. Cat., B.N., B.M.P., B.S.I., H.S.A., T.L.B.]

[Epistolario Espiritual: three parts.]

1236. *Tercera parte de las obras del Padre Maestro Juan de Ávila, predicador en el Andalucía, etc.* Esta tercera parte contiene 27 tratados del Santísimo Sacramento de la Eucaristía. Madrid, 1596. 2 vols. [B.M., B.M.P., B.S.I., B.U.]

[The first volume contains the treatises named in the title. The second volume contains " 16 tratados, los cinco son del Espíritu Santo, los diez de las festividades de N. Señora, y el otro del glorioso S. José."]

[Esc., No. 796, gives " Obras, tercera parte. Sevilla, 1596," but at second hand only. This is probably an error and refers to the above edition.]

1237. *Tercera parte de las obras del Padre Maestro Juan de Ávila, predicador en Andalucía. Trata del S^so^ Sacramento y del Espíritu Santo y de Nuestra Señora, etc.* Sevilla, Bartolomé Gómez, 1603. [B.N., Esc. No. 879. *Cf.* N. Ant., i, 641.]

1238. *Segunda parte de las obras del P. M. Juan de Ávila, etc.* Seville, 1604.

[Contains the three parts of the Epistolario Espiritual. [Sal. U.]

1239. *Vida y obras del maestro Juan de Ávila, predicador apostólico del Andalucía, divididas en dos tomos. . . .* Tomo primero (segundo) ahora nuevamente añadido y enmendado por . . . Martín Ruiz de Mesa, etc. Madrid, 1618. 2 vols. [B. Nat., B.S.I., B.N.L., Sev. U. B.M. has one volume only. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 1523.]

1240. *Vida y obras del venerable maestro Juan de Ávila, predicador apostólico del Andalucía.* Ahora nuevamente añadido y enmendado por el Licenciado Martín Ruiz de Mesa, Capellán del Consejo Real, etc. Madrid, 1674. [B.M.P., B.N.L., B. Ter., B.U., H.S.A., Vall. U.]

1241. *Obras del venerable maestro Juan de Ávila . . .* Colección general de todos sus escritos, etc. Madrid, 1759–60. 9 vols. [B.M., B.N., B.S.I., B.U., Sal. U., Val. U., etc., etc. This is the edition of Juan de Ávila most commonly found.]

Another edition:

1242. Madrid, 1792–1806. 9 vols. [B.U., H.U.]

(*b*) Editions of Single Works

1243. *Epistolario espiritual, para todos estados, etc., Primera parte del.* Madrid, 1578. [B.N.L., B.S.I., C.P.P., No. 120.]

1244. *Primera (segunda) parte del Epistolario Espiritual, para todos estados.* Alcalá, 1579. [B.M., B.N.L., B.S.I., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia.]

1245. *Primera (segunda) parte del Epistolario Espiritual para todos estados.* Alcalá, 1579. [B.N.L., B.U.]

1246. *Libro espiritual que trata de los malos lenguajes del mundo, carne y demonio y de los remedios contra ellos.* Alcalá de Henares, 1556, en casa de Juan de Brocar. [N. Ant.]

[This entry is from C.G.T.C., No. 285. The author adds: "Ningún bibliógrafo moderno, que yo sepa, ha visto esta edición; pero, por lo que digo en otra parte, no puede negarse su existencia." The reference is to the author's comments under No. 517: *cf.* text of the present volume, p. 125, and N. Ant., i, 641.]

1247. *Libro espiritual, que trata de los malos lenguajes del mundo, carne y demonio y de los remedios contra ellos. De la fe y del proprio conocimiento de la penitencia, de la oración, meditación y pasión de Nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo y del amor de los prójimos.* Compuesto por el Reverendo Padre Maestro Ávila, predicador en el Andalucía, etc. Madrid, Pedro Cosín, 1574. [B.N., B.U., Sant. U., C.P.P., No. 81.]

Another edition:

1248. Toledo, 1574. [Sal. U.]

1249. *Libro Espiritual sobre el verso "Audi, Filia," etc.* Salamanca, 1575. [B.N.]

Other editions are:

1250. Alcalá, 1577. [B.S.I., B.U.] *Cf.* here N. Ant., i, p. 641.

1251. Alcalá, 1581. [B.N., B.U., C.G.T.C., No. 565.]

1252. Madrid, 1595. [T.L.B.]

1253. *De los malos lenguajes del mundo, demonio y carne. Libro espiritual sobre el verso Audi, Filia, et vide.* Tres partes. Sevilla, 1604. 2 vols. [B.N.L., Sev. U., Esc., No. 892.]

Other editions are: **1254.** Barcelona, 1865. [B. Cat., B.U.] **1255.** Alcalá, 1877. [B.N.L.]

1256. *Documentos espirituales que dió a un mancebo discípulo suyo.* Sevilla, Juan Serrano, 1618. [Sev. U. In the catalogue, but the book could not be found.]

1257. *Dos pláticas hechas a los sacerdotes.* Córdoba, 1595. [N. Ant., J.M.V., No. 39.]

Another edition: **1258.** Valencia, 1617. [B.U.]

Selections from Juan de Ávila's letters are to be found in:

1259. *Epistolario español*, edited by Eugenio de Ochoa. Madrid, 1850, 1870. 2 vols. [B.A.E. Vols. xiii, lxii.]

II

1260. *Obras del beato Juan de Ávila, etc.* Ed. José Fernández Montaña. Madrid, 1894–5. 4 vols.

1261. *Nueva edición de las obras del beato Juan de Ávila, etc.* Ed. José Fernández Montaña. Madrid, 1901. 4 vols.

1262. *Obras del B. M. Juan de Ávila.* Madrid, Apostolado de la Prensa, *n.d.*

[A popular one-volume edition.]

1263. *Epistolario Espiritual.* Edición y notas de V. García de Diego. Madrid, 1912.

III

(*a*) Translations into English

1264. *The Audi, Filia ; or a rich cabinet full of spirituall jewells, etc.* Translated out of Spanish, etc. [by L.T.] St. Omer, 1620. [B.M.]

1265. *Certain selected spirituall epistles.* Translated from the Spanish. Rouen, 1631. [B.M.]

1266. *The Cure of Discomfort.* Conteyned in the Spirituall Epistles of Doctour I. de Auila, etc. *n.p.*, 1632. [B.M.]

1267. *Letters of Blessed John of Avila*, translated and selected from the Spanish by the Benedictines of Stanbrook. London, 1904.
[A small selection only.]

(*b*) Translations into other Modern Languages

1268. *Les œuvres du bienheureux Jean d'Avila . . . surnommé l'apostre de l'Andalousie, etc.* Traduction de M. Arnaud d'Andilly. Paris, 1673. [B.M., B. Nat.]

1269. *Discours aux prêtres, contenant une doctrine fort nécessaire à tous ceux, lesquels étant élevés à cette haute dignité, désirent que Dieu leur soit propice au dernier jugement*, composé en espagnol par le R.P. Jean Avila . . . et traduit en français. 3ᵉ édition, augmentée de quelques lettres du même auteur. Paris, 1658. [B. Nat.]
A later edition is that of (**1270**) Lyons, 1674. [B. Nat.]

1271. *Epistres spirituelles de R.P. Jean de Avila . . .* mises d'espagnol en françois, par Luc de la Porte. Paris, 1588. [B. Nat.]

1272. *Épîtres spirituelles de R.P. J. de Avila, etc.*, fidèlement traduites et mises en meilleur ordre qu'elles ne sont en l'exemplaire espagnol . . . par Gabriel Chappuys, etc. Paris, 1588. [B. Nat.]
Other editions are :

1273. Paris, 1588 (P. Cavellat). [B. Nat.]

1274. Paris, 1608. [B. Nat.]

1275. Paris, 1630. [B. Nat.]

1276. *Les Épîtres spirituelles de Mᵉ Jean Davilla, etc.*, de la traduction du R.P. Simon Martin, etc. Paris, 1653. [B.M., B. Nat.]

1277. *Les Œuvres spirituelles, traitant des mauvais conseils et langages du monde, de la chair et du diable et des remèdes contre eux . . .* Faites en espagnol par le R.P. Avila et mises en françois par Gabriel Chappuis. Paris, 1588. [B. Nat.]
A later edition of this translation (**1278**) was published at Pont-à-Mousson, 1623, with the title " Adresse de l'âme, fille de Dieu, pour atteindre à la vraie et parfaite sagesse." [B. Nat.]

1279. *Œuvres chrétiennes sur le verset Audi, filia, et vide, etc.*, composées en espagnol par Mᵉ Jean d'Avila, traduites en français par le Sʳ Personne. Paris, 1662. [B. Nat.]
Another edition (**1280**), Paris, 1673. [S.C. Vall.]

1281. *Lettre du vénérable Jean d'Avila, écrite à une âme éprouvée par des sentiments d'une crainte excessive des jugements de Dieu*, traduite de sa vie, écrite en espagnol, par le P. Louis de Grenade. Lyons, 1857. [B. Nat.]

1282. *Lettres de direction.* Traduction, introduction et notes par J. M. de Buck. Louvain, 1927.

1283. *Sämmtliche Werke des ehrwürdigen Juan de Avila, des Apostels von Andalusien*, zum erstenmal aus dem spanischen Original übersetzt von Franz Joseph Schermer, etc. Regensburg, 1856–81. 7 vols. [B.M.; incomplete copy in B. Nat.]

1284. *Documenti spirituali del P. Maestro Giovanni d' Avila, etc.* Rome, 1637. [B. Nat.] *Cf.* N. Ant., i, 641. [No copy found.]

1285. *Lettere spirituali del R.P.M. Giovanni d'Avila* . . . tradotte di lengua spagnuola nella toscana, dal R.P.M. Timoteo Botonio . . . di nuovo date in luce. Florence, 1590. [B. Nat.]

1286. *Lettere spirituali del dottor Giovanni Avila, etc.* Tradotte . . . dal Padre T. Botonio. Florence, 1593. [B.M.]

Other editions:

1287. Florence, 1596. [N. Ant., i, 641. No copy found.]

1288. Florence, 1612. [B.U.]

1289. Rome, 1668. [B.U.]

1290. Florence, 1669. [N. Ant., i, 641. No copy found.]

1291. Brescia, 1728. [B.N.L.]

1292. *Trattato spirituale sopra il verso Audi, filia, del salmo: Eructavit cor meum*, del R.P.M. Avila . . . nuovamente tradotto dalla lingua spagnuola nella italiana per Camillo Camilli. Rome, 1610. [B. Nat., B.U.]

1293. *I due celebri Ragionamenti alli sacerdoti, intorno all'altezza ed eccellenza della loro dignità, del . . . P. Maestro Giovanni d'Avila*, tradotti di lengua spagnuola nell'italiana da incerto, etc. Padua, 1727. [B. Nat.]

Later edition (**1294**), Cesena, 1775. [H.U.] N. Ant. has an edition (**1295**) of Rome, 1657, with a title slightly different.

IV

1296. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova.* (Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42.) Madrid, 1783, vol. i, p. 641.

1297. Arenas, A.: *La patria del Beato Juan de Ávila.* Valencia, 1918.

1298. Catalán Latorre, A.: *El Beato Juan de Ávila, su tiempo, su vida y sus escritos y la literatura mística en España.* Zaragoza, 1894.

1299. De Buck, R.P. J. M., S.J.: "Le Bienheureux Juan de Avila et les Jésuites espagnols," in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, vol. liii, pp. 596–611, 674, 683.

1300. Fernández Montaña, José: *El V.M. Juan de Ávila.* Madrid, 1889.

1301. Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, R.P. Fr., C.D.: *Vida del maestro Juan de Ávila.* Toledo, 1915.

1302. González Ruiz, N.: "El Maestro Juan de Ávila y su Epistolario," in *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 1928, vol. v, pp. 120–7, 154–8.

1303. Gurruchaga, R.P. A.: "El Beato Juan de Ávila," in *Semana y Congreso Ascéticos de Valladolid.* Valladolid, 1926, pp. 88–112.

1304. Múñoz, L.: *Vida y virtudes del venerable siervo de Dios Maestro Juan de Ávila.* Madrid, 1635.

1305. Oddi, L. degli: *Life of the Blessed Master John of Ávila, etc.* Translated from the Italian. Ed. J. G. Macleod. London, 1898.

1305a. Peers, E. Allison: *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey.* London, 1924, pp. 85–90, 200–4.

JERÓNIMO GRACIÁN

[See álso *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., Nos. 436, 512.]

Note.—In B.N. (MSS. 13519) is a manuscript of (**1306**) "Arbor Salutis: Libro y suma de casos de conciencia, en la cual van recopilados los manantiales y fuentes de pecados que puede haber contra los mandamientos" (*n.p.*, *n.d.*). A copy of this has been made, and a prologue written to it, by the Marqués de San Juan de Piedras Albas; this has not been published, but is to be seen in B. Ter.

B. Ter. has also a MS. copy of (**1307**): "De los siete tesoros de la perfección colegidos de las siete palabras que Cristo halló en la Cruz, y trátase de sus contrarios, así los claros como los engañosos hijos de la hipocresía que destruyen el verdadero espíritu" (*n.p.*, *n.d.*). The (unpublished) autograph is in the Convent of San José del Carmen de Carmelitas Descalzas, Seville.

I

(*a*) Editions of Collected Works

1308. *Obras*, Madrid, 1616.

[This is by no means rare. It can be consulted in B.M., B.N., B.S.I., B. Ter., C.A.F.V., Sal. U., Val. U., Vall. U. Its contents are: *Lucidario del verdadero espíritu; Itinerario de los caminos de la perfección; Del espíritu y devoción con que ha de decir el oficio divino, etc.; De la oración mental, etc.; Vida del alma, libro que trata de la imitación de Cristo, etc.; Apología contra algunos que ponen la suma perfección en la oración unitiva inmediata con aniquilación total del alma, etc.; Lámpara encendida, compendio de la perfección; Josephina; Zelo de la propagación de la Fe; Tratado de la redención de cautivos; Música espiritual; Conceptos del divino amor; Arte de bien morir;* and some minor works (sermons, etc.).]

(*b*) Editions of Single Works

1309. *Árbol prodigioso de doce modos de rezar el Rosario.*

[No copy found. Nothing known of this book except that it was first published at Florence and in Italian.]

1310. *Arte de bien morir, en que se trata de las reglas, apercibimientos, ejercicios para la buena muerte.* Brussels, 1614. [B.S.I., B. Royale, Brussels.]

1311. *Cerco espiritual de la conciencia tentada.* Rome, 1596. [N. Ant. Mentioned also in the *Peregrinación* (No. 1361). No copy found.]

1312. *Compendio de la perfección religiosa : en el cual se trata lo que debe hacer el alma para con Dios, para con su próximo y para consigo mismo ; y para la perfecta guarda de su regla y tres votos. Y de la oración mental, y espíritu con que se debe rezar el oficio divino y oír la misa.* Naples, 1593. [B. Barberini, Vatican, Rome.] This is substantially the same work as No. 1335.

1313. *Conceptos de divino amor sobre los Cantares.* Brussels, 1612. [N. Ant., who adds " ad imitationem B.M. Teresiæ de Jesu." No copy found.]

Other editions are : (**1314**) Valencia, 1613. [N. Ant. No copy found] ; (**1315**) Valencia, 1623. [N. Ant. No copy found, unless, as seems likely, the book meant is : *Conceptos del amor de Dios, escritos por la S.M. Theresa de Jesús, sobre algunas palabras de los Cantares de Salomón. Con unas anotaciones del P. Maestro F. Gerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Carmelitano. Van añadidas en esta impresión siete meditaciones sobre el Padrenuestro de la misma Madre Teresa de Jesús.* Valencia, 1623 (Sarriá).]

1316. *Consuelos y desconsuelos interiores de las almas atribuladas.* [Mentioned in *Peregrinación*, but nothing further known of it. No copy found.]

1317. *Declamación en que se trata de la perfecta vida y virtudes heroicas de la B. Madre Teresa de Jesús y de las fundaciones de sus monasterios.* Brussels, 1611. [H.S.A.]

1318. *Declaración del Padre Nuestro.*

1319. *Declaración de la Ave Maria.*

[N. Ant. lists both of these works, but no more is known of them. No copy found.]

1320. *Devoto peregrino, El.* Rome and Brussels.

[This is mentioned by N. Ant., but nothing more is known of it, unless it is identical with No. 1352, below. No copy found.]

1321. *Diez lamentaciones del miserable estado de los ateístas de nuestros tiempos.* Ordenadas por Fr. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Carmelitano, Doctor en S. Theologia. Brussels, 1611. [B.N.]

1322. *Dilucidario del verdadero espíritu en que se declara qué sea espíritu verdadero, de dónde mana y sus grados. Trátase de la unión, éxtasis, rapto, visiones y revelaciones, y de los estorbos que hay para no llegar a lo más perfecto. Y se comprueba y declara la doctrina de los libros de la Madre Teresa de Jesús, y de otros libros espirituales.* Compuesto por el padre maestro Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, de la orden de nuestra Señora del Carmen. Madrid, 1604. [B.N., B.S.I. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 866.]

1323. A second edition—Brussels, 1608. 2 vols. [B.N., B. Ter.]—has a somewhat different title, reading thus: *Dilucidario del verdadero espíritu, en que se manifiesta la verdadera oración, pureza, luz, caridad y trato del alma con Dios. Y se declara la doctrina de la Madre Teresa de Jesús, y de otros libros espirituales.* Compuesto por el P.M. Fr. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, de la orden de nuestra Señora del Carmen.

1324. *Disciplina regular, Libro de la.* [Written in Italian. Mentioned twice in *Peregrinación*. N. Ant. gives it as having been published at Venice in 1611. No copy found.]

1325. *Discurso del misterioso nombre de María.* Brussels, 1612. [N. Ant. No copy found.]

1326. *Estímulo de la propagación de la fe. Contiene el Vínculo de hermandad entre los Padres descalzos de Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo y del seráfico padre San Francisco, para ayudarse y favorecerse en la conversión de la Gentilidad. Y una exhortación para ello, hecha por fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Carmelita descalzo. Con licencia de la santa y general Inquisición.* Impreso en Lisboa en San Felipe, de los Carmelitas descalzos, por Andrés Lobato, 1586. [Sal. U.]

1327. *Flores Carmeli.* [Written in Sicily in 1593, but apparently not published till after *Peregrinación*. No copy found.]

1328. *Itinerario de los caminos de la perfección, en que . . . se declara la mística teología de San Buenaventura.* Madrid, 1878. [Reprinted from the collected edition of 1616.]

1329. [*Josephina*] *Sumario de las excelencias, vida, milagros y muerte del patriarca San José, Esposo de la Virgen María.* Recopilado de diversos autores. Por el Maestro Fr. Jerónimo Gracián, etc. Dirigido a los carpinteros de Valencia. Valencia, 1602. [B.N., Val. U.]

B.N. has also an edition (**1330**) dated from Barcelona, 1605, and B.S.I. has an edition (**1331**) of Toledo, 1605. A later edition (**1332**) of Brussels, 1609 [B.M., Gr. U.] bears also the title of *Josephina*, by which the book is often known. Gracián mentions in the *Peregrinación* an early edition published in Madrid, of which nothing is known.

A late edition (**1333**) of Madrid, 1780 [B.N., B. Sem. Cuenca, B. Ter.] describes the author as "uno de los fundadores del Carmen Descalzo y Confesor de Santa Teresa de Jesús." It was reprinted (**1334**) at Valencia in 1829. [B.N., B.S.I.]

1335. *Lámpara encendida. Libro de la perfección religiosa: en el cual se trata lo que debe hacer el alma para con Dios, para con su próximo y para consigo misma, y para la perfecta guarda de su regla, y de los tres votos [de obediencia, castidad y pobreza].* [Compuesto] por el [muy reverendo] padre Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Vicario Provincial de los Descalzos Carmelitas de la Provincia de Portugal. Lisboa, Manuel de Lyra, 1586.

A second part "trata de la oración mental y de sus partes y condiciones; y del espíritu que se ha de procurar en lo interior

cuando se dice el oficio divino, y se celebra el sacrificio de la misa, y se reza la oración del Paternoster." A third part deals with the "espíritu y devoción con que se ha de decir el oficio divino, celebrar el sacrificio de la misa y rezar el Paternoster." These three parts are bound together and dated 1586. [B.Ter.]

An edition (**1336**) published at Zaragoza in 1586 [B.U., Zar. U.] contains the first part only, and alone gives the words placed in square brackets above. At Pamplona, 1588, was published an edition (**1337**) "ahora de nuevo corregida y enmendada y añadida la segunda y tercera parte" [B.U.]. J.M.S., No. 644, cites also an earlier edition, of (**1338**) Florence, 1581, but gives no further details.

In 1604, from Madrid, came an enlarged edition (**1339**), entitled *Lámpara encendida. Compendio de la perfección, etc.* This contains a fourth part ("de la confesión y comunión") and reprints also the *Estímulo de la propagación de la fe* and the *Redención de Cautivos* [Nos. 1326, 1347]. [B.S.I., B.U.]

At Brussels, in 1609, was published (**1340**) another edition, with a title-page not unlike that of the preceding one. It lacks, however, the last two *tratados* there mentioned. The four parts of the work have separate pagination and title-pages; all except the first bear the date 1608. [B.N.]

1341. *Leviathan engañoso.* Brussels, 1614.

[N. Ant. This is in the 1616 collected edition, but no copy of a separate edition has been found.]

1342. *Mística teología de San Buenaventura, Camino del cielo o . . . con declaraciones del M.F. Jerónimo Gracián.* Madrid, 1601. [N. Ant., C.P.P., No. 782. No copy found.]

1343. *Mística teología, colegida de lo que escribió San Buenaventura del verdadero camino del cielo, con una declaración y recopilación de las tres vías activa, contemplativa y unitiva.* Por el P.M. F. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Religioso de la Orden del Carmen. Valencia, 1607. [B.U.]

A later edition is that of (**1344**) Madrid, 1635. [B. Ter.]

1345. *Mística teología y senda angosta que encamina las almas por el verdadero camino a la vida eterna, colegida de lo que escribió San Buenaventura y de la doctrina de los maestros de espíritu.* Por el P. Maestro Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, religioso de la Orden del Carmen. Brussels, 1609 [B. Ter.]. This is a different work from the foregoing. A later edition (**1346**), Brussels, 1617, is in B.N.

1347. *Redención de cautivos, Tratado de la . . ., en que se cuentan las grandes miserias que padecen los Cristianos que están en poder de infieles y cuán santa obra sea la de su rescate.* Por F. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, de la orden de nuestra Señora del Carmen, natural de Valladolid, que fué cautivo de Mammi Corzo Baxa de Tunez. Brussels, 1609. [B.N.] B. Barberini, Vatican, Rome, has the original edition (**1348**), Rome, 1597.

1349. *El Soldado católico, que prueba con historias, ejemplos y razones claras, en agradable y provechoso estilo, que los que no tienen letras no han de disputar de la fe con los herejes; abomina las herejías de nuestros tiempos, y loa la Iglesia Romana.* Compuesto por el P.M. Fr. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, de la Orden de Nuestra Señora del Carmen. Bruselas, 1611. [B.N., B.S.I.]

1350. *Il Suffragio dell'anime del purgatorio.* Composto in lingua spagnuola dal R. Padre Frà Girolamo Grazian, dell'ordine della Madona del Carmine. Tradotto in lingua toscana da Francesco Sardonati, Fiorentino, etc. Rome, 1603.

[Rome. Library of the Casa Generalizia dei Carmelitani Scalzi.]

1351. *Suma breve de la confesión y comunión, ordenada por el P.M. Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, de la Orden de Nuestra Señora del Carmen.* Brussels, 1608. [B. Ter.]

1352. *Trattato del Giubileo dell'Anno santo del P.M.F. Girolamo Gratiano, Carmelitano, e Teologo dell'Illustriss. Card. Deza. . . .* Tradotto dallo Spagnuolo in Italiano da Iacomo Bosio, etc. Rome, 1599.

[Rome, B. Barberini and Library of the Casa Generalizia dei Carmelitani Scalzi.] N. Ant. lists a Spanish edition of (**1353**) 1600, but gives no further details, while *Peregrinación* says that the book, having been published in Italian, will not be issued in Spanish.]

1354. *Velo de una religiosa.* Sermón predicado ante sus Altezas cuando tomó el velo la Hermana Ana del Espíritu Santo. Brussels, 1612. [Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.]

1355. *Vida del alma, libro que trata de la imitación de Cristo y de los grandes frutos espirituales del que vive y obra con amor de Dios; y de los medios por donde esta vida se alcanza.* Compuesto por el M. Fr. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, de la Orden de Nuestra Señora del Carmen. Brussels, 1609. [B. Ter. lacks fols. 2–4.] At the end of this work, but with continuous pagination, comes the "Apología . . . contra algunos que ponen la suma perfección en la oración unitiva inmediata, con aniquilación total del alma." (*Cf.* No. 1308.)

Peregrinación mentions a work entitled "Vida en Cristo: De la verdadera perfección del alma unida, etc." No date or place of its publication is given, and I suppose it to refer to the *Vida del alma.*

1356. *Zelo de la propagación de la fe, en que se contiene una exhortación para ir a predicar la fe católica a las tierras de idolatras, infieles y herejes, y se declara la disposición que hay en algunos reinos para recibirla.* Hecha por el padre M. Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, de la orden de nuestra Señora del Carmen. Brussels, 1609. [B.N.]

[A later edition of No. 1326.]

II

1357. *Arte breve de amar a Dios, dividida en ocho reglas, según los ocho que ponen los cantores para saber cantar.* Madrid, 1878.

1358. *Los Caminos de la perfección.* Por Fray Jerónimo Gracián, director espiritual de Santa Teresa. Madrid (*n.d.*).

1359. *Diálogos sobre la muerte de la M. Teresa de Jesús*, por el P. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, con una introducción del P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C.D. Burgos, 1913.

1360. *Luz de la Perfección religiosa.* Edición, carta-prólogo y notas por Eduardo Juliá Martínez. Epílogo del P. Julián de la Sagrada Familia, C.D. Madrid, 1927.

1361. *Peregrinación de Anastasio. Diálogos de las persecuciones, trabajos, tribulaciones y cruces que ha padecido el Padre Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, desde que tomó el habito de Carmelita Descalzo hasta el año* 1613, *etc.* . . . compuesto(s) por él mismo. [Ed. Fr. Ángel María de Santa Teresa, O.C.D.] Burgos, 1905.

[See also No. 1377, below.]

III

(*a*) Translation into English

1362. *A Burning Lamp or short compend of Christian perfection, useful for all such as desire to exercise themselves in a spiritual life.* Translated into English. Rome, 1731. [B.M.]

[A translation of the *Lámpara encendida.* The translator signs the dedication "N. N."]

(*b*) Translations into French

Of *Josephina*, N. Ant. lists only a French translation (**1363**) dated Paris, 1619. [No copy found.] The Carmelite Convent of Bruges has, however, the following: (**1364**) *Les grandeurs et excellences de S. Joseph.* Traduites en français par M. A. C. Paris, 1627. H.U. has an edition (**1365**) of Madrid, 1780.

1366. "La vie contemplative selon l'enseignement traditionnel des carmes déchaussés: (1) P. Jérôme Gratien de la Mère de Dieu."

[Long extracts from the *Dilucidario*, in Spanish, with *résumé* in French.] In *Études Carmélitaines*, 1924, vol. ix, pp. 231–87.

(*c*) Translations into Italian

Of *Josephina*, N. Ant. lists an Italian translation (**1367**), dated Venice, 1613. [No copy found.]

1368. *Della disciplina regolare. Opera nella quale si tratta della perfettione e spirito con che si ha da osservare la regola di qualsivoglia religione, et si dichiara particolarmente quella, sotto la quale vive l'Ordine della Gloriosa Vergine del Carmine.* Composta per il

P. M. Fra Girolamo della Madre di Dio, etc. Tradotto di Spagnuolo in Italiano del R. P. Maestro Gio. Antonio Bovio, etc. Venice, 1600. [Rome, B. Barberini and Library of Casa Generalizia dei Carmelitani Scalzi.]

1369. *Zelo della propagazione della Fede*, tradotto dallo Spagnuolo. Rome, 1610. [B. Barberini, Rome.]
Another edition (**1370**), Rome, 1702. [B. Barberini, Rome.]

IV

1371. Boneta y La Plana, J.: *Vidas de Santos, y venerables varones de la religión de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, de la Antigua Observancia.* Zaragoza, 1680. [B.M.] Pp. 161–380 are devoted to Gracián.

1372. Francisco de Santa María, R.P. Fr.: *Reforma de los Descalzos de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, de la primitiva observancia, hecha por Santa Teresa, etc.* 2nd edition. Madrid, 1643. [B.N.]

1373. Gregorio de San José, R.P. Fr., O.C.D.: *El Padre Gracián de la Madre de Dios, C.D., y sus jueces.* Burgos, 1904.
[A translation from the French.]

1374. Mármol, Andrés del: *Excelencias, vida y trabajos del P. Fr. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, etc.* Valladolid, 1619. [B. Ter., C.A.F.V., Sal. U.]

1375. Márquez, Cristóbal: *Vida del P.F. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios.* Primera parte. Valladolid, 1619. [N. Ant., M.A.M., No. 649.]

1376. Melgar y Abreu, B. de, Marqués de San Juan de Piedras Albas: *Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios.* Discurso leído ante la Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid, 1918.

1377. Menéndez Pidal, J.: "Un opúsculo inédito del P. Jerónimo Gracián," in *R.A.B.M.*, 1913, año xvii, pp. 92–100. ("Diálogo de un pastor y una pastora sobre el gobierno de cierto ganado. Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua. Diálogo de Ángela y Eliseo desde 22 de octubre de 1582.")

1378. Rousselot, P.: *Les Mystiques Espagnols.* Paris, 1867. Pp. 409–12.

1379. *La doctrine contemplative des carmes déchaussés. La doctrine contemplative du V.P. Jérôme-Gratien de la Mère de Dieu.* (Texte espagnol et résumé français). In *Études carmélitaines*, 1924, pp. 231–87.

ALONSO DE OROZCO

On certain works not proved to be by Alonso de Orozco, see Gregorio de Santiago Vela (No. 1491, below: abbreviated G.S.V. in this bibliography), vol. vi, pp. 156–7. On Orozco MSS., see G.S.V., vol. vi, pp. 158–66. These are mainly in C.A.F.V., whither they were transferred from San Felipe el Real, Madrid. On bibliographical notices of him too short to be cited below, see G.S.V., vol. vi, pp. 167–8.

I

(*a*) Editions of Collected Works

1380. *Recopilación de todas las obras que ha escrito el muy reverendo padre fray Alonso de Orozco, religioso de la orden del glorioso doctor San Agustín, y predicador de su Majestad. . . .* Ahora nuevamente enmendadas por el mismo autor, impresas en Valladolid, año de 1554. [B.N., B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U., C.A.F.V., Val. U.]

Contains : *Examen de la conciencia ; Vergel de oración y monte de contemplación ; Memorial de amor santo ; Regla de vida cristiana ; Regimiento del alma, etc. ; Desposorio espiritual.*

On this edition, and that of (**1381**) 1555, which is a mere reprint of it, and may be seen at B.N. and B. Provincial, Burgos, see Salvá (Bibl., No. 906), No. 3963 ; M.A.M., Nos. 197, 203, and G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 117. The 1554 edition is much the commoner.

1382. *Recopilación de todas las obras que ha escrito el muy reverendo padre fray Alonso de Orozco*, ahora nuevamente enmendadas por el mismo autor. Zaragoza, Miguel de Suelves, 1566. [B. Sem. Cuenca, Zar. U.]

Contents identical with those of No. 1380. *Cf.* J.M.S., No. 463, G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 117.

1383. *Recopilación de todas las obras, etc.* Alcalá de Henares, en casa de Andrés de Angulo, 1570. [B.M., B.M.P., B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U., R.B.E., Sev. U., Val. U.] The titles and contents of this and of the preceding edition are identical.

1384. A second part to the 1570 edition (" Segunda parte de las obras del muy reverendo padre Fray Alonso de Orozco, de la orden de S. Agustín : predicador de su Catholica Majestad ") was published in the same year, also by Andrés de Angulo. It contains : *Epistolario cristiano de los estados ; De las siete palabras de . . . nuestra Señora ; Arte de amar a Dios y al próximo ; Victoria del mundo ; Escala de perfección.* [B.M.P., B.S.I., R.B.E.]

1385. *Obras, etc.*, Tercera impresión. Madrid, 1736. 3 vols. [B.M., B.N., Vall. U.]

Contains :—Vol. i, summary, in Spanish, of the *Regalis institutio ; Epistolario cristiano ; Arte de amar a Dios y al próximo ; Victoria del mundo ; Sacramento de la penitencia ; Catequismo cristiano ; Victoria de la muerte.* Vol. ii : *Vergel de oración ; Monte de contemplación ; Memorial de amor santo ; Breve vida de Cristo ; Gratitud cristiana ; Soliloquios de la Pasión ; Regla de vida cristiana ; Ejercitatorio espiritual ; Regimiento del alma ; Desposorio espiritual ; Suavidad de Dios.* Vol. iii : *Vida del V.P. Fr. Alonso de Orozco ; Libro de las Confesiones ; Tratado de la corona de Nuestra Señora ; Tratado de las siete palabras que María Santísima habló ; Historia de la Reina Saba ; Arte breve de servir a Dios ; Guarda de la lengua ; Vida de San Juan Bautista ; Vida de San Juan Evangelista.*

1386. *Opera venerabilis servi Dei Fr. Ildephonsi ab Orozco, etc.* Madrid, 1736. 4 vols. [B.N., C.A.F.V.]

Vols. i and ii contain the Latin sermons, together with *Commentaria in Cantica Canticorum; Annotationes in Cantica Canticorum, Tractatum super Canticum Deiparæ Virginis, Orationis Dominicæ illucidatio.* Vol. iii has Latin sermons together with *Alphabetum oratorum.* Vol. iv: *Declamationes in festivitatibus B. Virginis Mariæ; Tractatus coronæ Dominæ Nostræ Virginis Mariæ; Liber de suavitate Dei; Regula S.P.N. Aurelii Augustini; Certamen bonum; Certamen amoris sancti; Desponsatio spiritualis; Gratitudinis christianæ brevis tractatus; Custodia linguæ; Epistola ad monialem consobrinam; Regalis institutio orthodoxis omnibus, potissime regibus et principibus perutilis.*

(*b*) Editions of Single Works

1387. *Alphabetum oratorum.* Madrid, 1588. [G.S.V., vi, pp. 140–1.] The censor's certificate in the 1736 edition [No. 1386] is dated 1588.

1388. *Annotationes in Canticum Beatæ Virginis.* Burgos, 1581. [N. Ant. No copy found.]

1389. *Arte de amar a Dios y al prójimo,* hecho por el Reverendo P.F. Alonso de Horozco, etc., nuevamente corregido y emendado por el mismo autor, etc. Alcalá, 1585. [R.B.E.]

G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 124, refers to an edition of 1568, of which, however, he knows nothing further and the existence of which he considers doubtful.

1390. *Cantica Canticorum, Commentaria quædam in . . ., nunc denuò ex Doctorum dictis congesta, per fratrem Alphonsum ab Orozco Augustinianum. Accessere quadraginta quattuor annotationes in eadem Cantica, Deiparæ Mariæ Virginis festivitatibus accommodatæ.* Burgos, 1581. [B.N., B. Nat., B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U., C.A.F.V., Gr. U., Sal. U., Sant. U., Sev. U., Val. U.]

1391. *Catequismo provechoso hecho por el padre Fray Alonso de Orozco. . . . En el cual se declara solamente nuestra ley cristiana ser la verdadera. Y todas las otras sectas ser engaños del demonio.* Zaragoza, 1568. [No copy found. But J.M.S. (No. 474) says that he possesses a copy, the only one known to him.]

Later editions are: (**1392**) Zaragoza, 1572. [B.U.]; (**1393**) Salamanca, 1575. [B.S.I.]; (**1394**) Madrid, *n.d.* [B.N. *Cf.* G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 127.]

1395. [*Certamen Bonum.*] *Liber orthodoxis omnibus perutilis, et maxime monachis, qui Bonum Certamen appellatur; editus per admodum R.P. Fr. Alphonsum ab Orozco, etc.* Salamanca, 1562. [B.N., B.U., R.A.H.]

Later editions are: (**1396**) ? Salamanca, 1645. [N. Ant., G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 120. I doubt if this edition existed]; (**1397**)

Louvain, 1645. [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 120]; (**1398**) Munich, 1692. [C.A.F.V.]

1399. *Confesiones del muy venerable P.F. Alonso de Orozco, etc.* Madrid, 1620.

[M.A.M., No. 403, gives the first edition (**1400**) as Valladolid, 1601, and says this is in the Convento de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid. *Cf.* G.S.V., vol. vi, pp. 141–2. N. Ant. gives "Madrid, 1610," but I agree with G.S.V. that this is probably a printer's error. At the end of the book are some notes to it written by Basilio Ponce de León, and a sermon preached at Orozco's funeral.] [B.S.I., B.U.]

Later editions are: (**1401**) Zaragoza, 1678. [B.N.]; (**1402**) Madrid, 1730. [B.U., R.A.H.] These two editions have the notes mentioned above, but not the sermon.

1403. *Crónica del glorioso padre y doctor de la iglesia San Agustín y de los santos y beatos y de los doctores de su orden.* Nuevamente ordenada por un padre de la misma orden. . . . Seville, 1551. [This volume also contains: *Instrucción según la cual los padres antiguos cuando reformaron nuestra provincia de España enseñaban a los novicios; Breve declaración de la regla de nuestro padre San Agustín* (the rule being appended in Latin). The colophon assigns the whole work to Orozco.] [B.U. *Cf.* G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 113.]

1404. *Declamatio in laudem precelentissimi presulis et Doctoris ecclesiæ Aurelii Augustini cum vita et regula eius.* No place or date. [B.S.I.] The place has been conjectured to be Seville, and the date, *c.* 1544–6.

1405. *Declamationes decem et septem, pro Adventu Domini nostri Jesu Christi, usque ad Septuagesimam. Authore Fratre Alfonso ab Horozco . . . Accessit alia declamatio in festo Beati Illefonsi . . . eiusdem authoris.* Madrid, 1569. [B.N., B.S.I., Gr. U., Sant. U., C.P.P., No. 23.]

[Another edition (**1406**), Salamanca, 1576. [B.M., B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U.] There seems also to have been an edition of *c.* 1573 (G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 129), of which nothing is now known.]

1407. *Declamationes Deiparæ Mariæ Virginis, per omnes illius solemnitates digestæ. Authore Fratre Alfonso de Orosco, ordinis eremitarum Sancti Augustini. Accessere declamatio quædam festivitatis sancti Lucæ, et tractatus super Magnificat.* Alcalá, 1568. [B.S.I., B.U., C.A.F.V.]

Another edition: (**1408**) Alcalá, 1579. [B.S.I., B.U., R.B.E.]

1409. *Declamationes duodecim, pro dominicis post pascha, usque ad Pentecostem inclusive. Autore Fratre Illefonso ab Orozco. . . . Accessit et alia declamatio in festo gloriosæ Monicæ . . . matris divi . . . Augustini.* Alcalá, 1571. [B.M., B.U., Gr. U.]

[There are copies of this edition bearing the date 1571, but, except as to the title-page, they are identical with those which have 1570.]

1410. *Declamationes in omnes solennitates, quæ in Festivis Sanctorum quotannis in Ecclesia Romana celebrantur, concionatoribus verbi Dei utiles. Per Fratrem Alphonsum ab Horozco, ordinis sancti Augustini editæ.* Salamanca, 1573. [B.M., B.S.I., B.U.]

1411. *Declamationes pro Adventu Domini et usque ad Septuagesimam. Declamationes quadragesimales pro Dominicis et feriis.* Madrid, 1569–70. [B.U.]

1412. *Declamationes quadragesimales, tam pro dominicis diebus, quam pro cuartis et sextis feriis : auctore fratre Alphonso ab Orozco Ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini. Accessit et alia declamatio, de Passione Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ab eodem auctore.* Madrid, 1570. [B.S.I., B.U., C.A.F.V. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 41.]

1413. *Declamationes quadragesimales tam pro dominicis diebus, quam pro quartis et sextis. . . . Ex secunda autoris recognitione.* Salmanticæ, 1576. [B. Cat., B.M., B.S.I., B.U., Mont., Sal. U., Sant. U., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia.]

1414. *Declamationes vigintiquinque in Evangelia, quæ juxta ritum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, per singulos dominicos dies, a Pentecoste usque ad Adventum digestæ sunt. . . . Auctore Fratre Alphonso ab Orozco, ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini.* Salamanca, 1571. [B.M., B.S.I., B.U., Sal. U.]

1415. *Desposorio espiritual.* The original edition is unknown, but from internal evidence is dated 1551. [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 111.]

1416. *Epistolario cristiano para todos estados,* compuesto por el reverendo padre Fray Alonso de Horozco, predicador de Su Majestad, de la orden de San Agustín. Alcalá, Villanueva, 1567. [Besides the twelve letters of Orozco, there is a thirteenth " que se dice haberla enviado nuestra Señora a San Ignacio, esforzándole en la fe, etc."] [B.N., B.U., T.L.B.]

1417. *Examen de la conciencia hecho por un religioso de la orden de San Agustín.* Seville, 1551. [Esc., No. 538, who gives Sev. U.; G.S.V., vol. vi, pp. 110–11.]

[N. Ant., J.M.S., No. 508, G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 111, give also an edition of Zaragoza, 1572.]

Note.—On *Excelencias de los dos San Juanes,* see No. 1428.

1418. *Guarda de la lengua.* Madrid, 1590. [R.B.E.] N. Ant. has also an edition of 1589, which is probably, however, an error. C.P.P., No. 320, follows N. Ant. here.

1419. *Historia de la Reina Saba, cuando disputó con el Rey Salomón en Hierusalem. En la cual se declara como cada un cristiano ha de servir y adorar al Rey de los Reyes Jesu Cristo nuestro Señor.* Ahora nuevamente compuesto por el R.P.F. Alonso de Horozco, de la Orden de San Agustín, predicador de su Católica Majestad, etc. Salamanca, 1565. [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 122.]

Later editions are : (**1420**) Salamanca, 1568. [B.N., B. Nat., Sal. U., T.L.B.]; (**1421**) Salamanca, 1575 [B.M., B.N., Val. U., Vall. U.] B.N. has also a MS. Latin translation of this work.

1422. *Memorial de amor santo.* [For the unknown first edition of this, see G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 107.]

1423. *Regalis institutio orthodoxis omnibus, potissime regibus et principibus perutilis. Catholico regi Hispaniarum Philippo secundo dicata. Fratre Alphonso Orozco, sancti doctoris Augustini instituti, Auctore.* Alcalá, 1565. [B.M., B.S.I., B.U., Gr. U., R.A.H., R.B.E., Sal. U.]

A later edition of Madrid, 1569 [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 122, C.P.P., No. 24] probably existed, but no copies are now known.

1424. *Regimiento del alma.* Valladolid, 1551. [B.M.]

N. Ant. lists also an edition of Salamanca, 1565, but of this nothing is known.

1425. *Regla de N.P. S. Agustín, y su exposición en castellano, etc.* Madrid, 1781. [C.A.F.V.]

1426. *Regla de San Agustín en latín y castellano, con una breve declaración de algunos lugares,* por el V.P. Alonso de Orozco. Madrid, 1824. [B.S.I.]

1427. *Regla de vida cristiana.* See No. 1483. *Cf.* G.S.V. (vol. vi, p. 104), who thinks that this was Orozco's first work.

1428. *San Juan Bautista y San Juan Evangelista, Libro de las vidas y martirios de los bienaventurados . . .* Ordenado por el Padre Fray Alonso de Orozco, etc. Madrid, 1580. [B.N., C.P.P., No. 152. N. Ant. has "Excelencias de los dos San Juanes, Sevilla, 1580." *Cf.* Esc., No. 706.]

Another edition: (**1429**) Alcalá, 1581 [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 137]. He adds, from Tamayo y Vargas: "Vidas y martirios de los dos San Juanes. Sevilla, por Quirino Gerardo, 1581: Nota que suponemos equivocada en cuanto al lugar."

1430. *Sermón predicado en las exequias de la Reina Doña Isabel de Valois,* in Juan López, *Historia y relación verdadera de la enfermedad, felicísimo tránsito y suntuosas exequias fúnebres de la Reina Doña Isabel de Valois,* fols. 163v.–188v. Madrid, 1569. [G.S.V.]

1431. *Siete palabras de la Virgen.* Obra nueva y muy provechosa que trata de las siete palabras que la Virgen Sacratísima Nuestra Señora habló. Declaránse en siete sermones, etc. Valladolid, 1556. [Sev. U., G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 118; M.A.M., No. 207.]

Later edition: (**1432**) Medina del Campo, 1568. [B.U. *Cf.* P.P.M., No. 147.]

1433. *Soliloquio de la Pasión de Nuestro Redentor Jesucristo,* hecho por el R.P. Fray Alonso de Orozco, etc. Madrid, 1585. [B.N. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 214.]

Later editions are:

(**1434**) Madrid, 1620. [B.S.I.]

(**1435**) Madrid, 1624. [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 110; C.P.P., No. 2046.]

N. Ant. gives an edition (**1436**) of Madrid, 1534, but this is almost certainly an error. Méndez knew one (**1437**) of Madrid, 1575. [*Cf.* G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 109.]

1438. *Soliloquia Bti. Alphonsi ab Orozco.* Douai, 1631. [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 110.]

1439. *Libro de la suavidad de Dios.* Salamanca, 1576. [B.N., B.S.I.]

1440. *Tratado de la corona de Nuestra Señora, la cual fué con doce privilegios ensalzada sobre todos los Santos, según fué revelado a San Juan Evangelista.* Madrid, 1588. [B.U.]

1441. *Verdad, Libro de la.* Sevilla, 1576. [Sev. U.]

1442. *Vergel de Oración y Monte de Contemplación, Libro llamado. . . .* Seville, 1544. [B.S.I., Sev. U.]

A later edition: (**1443**) Seville, 1548. [B.N.; G.S.V., vol. vi, pp. 106–7; Esc., No. 496.]

1444. *Victoria de la muerte: exhortación para consuelo del enfermo, y avisos para hacer bien testamento.* Burgos, 1583. [B.S.I., Sev. U.]

1445. *Victoria del mundo,* hecho por el R.P. Fray Alonso de Orozco, predicador de su Majestad, para una su hermana religiosa. Barcelona, 1567. [B.U.] G.S.V. (vol. vi, pp. 123–4) seems to have missed this edition. His note is therefore not reliable.

II

(*a*) Editions of Collected Works

1446. *Obras del V.P. Fray Alonso de Orozco.* Barcelona, 1882. 2 vols. [*La Verdadera Ciencia Española,* vols. xx, xxi.]

1447. *Opera venerabilis servi Dei Fr. Ildephonsi ab Orozco, Ordinis Eremitarum S.P.N. Augustini, Fundatoris Collegii Incarnationis Matritensis, vulgo Doña María de Aragón.* Barcelona, 1882. (G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 149: "Impresión hecha con mucho descuido.")

1448. *Obras del Beato Alonso de Orozco, del Orden de San Agustín.* Salamanca, 1895–6. 2 vols. [Vol. i contains *Vergel de Oración* and *Monte de Contemplación.* Vol. ii contains *Memorial de Amor Santo.* The projected series was not carried further.]

(*b*) Editions of Single Works

1449. *Certamen bonum monachis potissime orthodoxisque omnibus perutile, ab B. Alphonsi de Orozco.* Guadalupe, 1887.

1450. *El Buen Combate y certamen del amor santo,* escritos por el Bto. Alfonso de Orozco, Agustino, utilísimos a todos, muy especialmente a los religiosos. Traducción del latín al castellano por el P. Fr. Pedro Lozano, O.S.A., etc. Madrid, 1914. [The *Certamen del amor santo* forms the final section of the *Certamen bonum,* and in some Latin editions is treated as a supplementary work.]

1451. *Confesiones del Beato Alonso de Orozco, etc.* Manila, 1882.

1452. *Historia de la Reina Saba, etc.* Manila, 1883.
[Contains also the *Arte Breve de servir a Dios.*]

1453. *Memorial de Amor Santo.* Salamanca, 1896.
[The second volume of the series mentioned under No. 1448.]

1454. *Regla de San Agustín, etc.* Manila, 1881.
Also: (**1455**) Santiago de Chile, 1893 (*Exposición del Bto. Alonso de Orozco sobre la Regla, etc.*); (**1456**) Talca, 1910. (*Cf.* G.S.V., vol. vi, pp. 114–15.)

1457. *Tratado de la corona de Nuestra Señora, etc.* Lérida, 1892.

1458. *Tratado de las siete palabras que María Santísima habló, etc.* Lérida, 1892.

1459. "Carta inédita del Ven. Orozco a Doña María de Aragón," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1881, vol. i, p. 184.

1460. "Cartas inéditas del Beato Alonso de Orozco a Dª María de Aragón," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1882, vol. iv, pp. 31–4, 164–71, 261–8.

1461. "El Beato Alonso de Orozco . . . Cartas inéditas del Beato Alonso de Orozco," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1891, vol. xxvi, pp. 161–8.

1462. "De Nueve nombres de Cristo." Opúsculo del Beato Alonso de Orozco, in *De los nombres de Cristo*, ed. Onís [Bibl., No. 725], i, pp. 261–81, ii, pp. 257–71, iii, pp. 249–59. [Originally published by P. Muiños Sáenz in *Ciudad de Dios*, vols. xvi, xvii.]

1463. "El Príncipe cristiano." Fragmento de un MS. del Beato Alonso de Orozco, in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1889, vol. xx, pp. 110–17, 225–32, 289–95.

1464. *Vergel de Oración.* Manila, 1887. [See also No. 1448, above.]

1465. *Victoria de la muerte.* Madrid, 1921.

III

1466. *Les Confessions du bienheureux père P. Alphonse d'Orosco, Religieux Augustin.* Très-utiles pour exciter l'âme chrestienne et principalement la religieuse à la vraye devotion. Traduites d'Espagnol en François par un religieux du même Ordre. Anvers, 1643. [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 143.]

1467. *Jardin d'Oraison du R.P.F. Alonso d' Orosco, etc.* Traduit et augmenté d'italien (*sic*) en français, etc. Rouen, 1603. [B. Nat.]

1468. *Memorial de l'amour saint, par Alonso d'Orosco*, traduit d'italien (*sic*) en français par Jacques Giraud, Chartreux. Paris, 1603. [B. Nat.]

1469. *Le Mont de Contemplation.* Traduit d'italien en français et beaucoup illustré par F. Jaques Giraud d'Eres, etc. Paris, 1604. [B. Nat.]

1470. *Delle opere spirituali :* tradotte di spagnuolo per Timoteo Nofreschi da Bagno. Venice, 1581. [G.S.V., vol. vi, p. 131.]
The only edition known to be extant is that of (**1471**) Venice, 1596 [B.S.I.]; this is a translation of the first volume of No. 1383.

1472. *Le confessioni del B.P.F. Alonso di Orozco* . . . trasportate dalla Castigliana nell'Italiana lingua del P. Maestro F. Fulgencio Baldani, Genovese del medesimo ordine. Genoa, 1623. [B.N.]

G.S.V. (vol. vi, p. 144) gives (**1473**) an Italian translation by "Fr. Alfonso Domínguez, Procuratore della causa di canonizatione di detto Ven. Patre," Rome, 1696, which he says is in the Biblioteca Angélica, Rome.

1474. *Confessioni del venerabile servo di Dio, Fr. Alonso d'Orozco, dell'ordine del N.P.S. Agostino* . . . trasportate dall'Idioma Spagnuolo all'Italiano. Per il P.M. Fr. Alfonso Dominguez. Roma, 1696. [B.N.]

IV

1475. Anon.: "Arte de amar a Dios," por un religioso de la Orden de San Agustín. [This MS., from B.N., was published in vols. lxiv, lxv of *Ciudad de Dios*. It is conjectured to be by Orozco.]

1476. Anon.: "La Exhumación de los restos del Ven. Alonso de Orozco," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1881, vol. ii, pp. 560–8.

1477. Anon.: "Lope de Vega y el Beato Alonso de Orozco," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1894, vol. xxxiv, pp. 444–8.

[The evidence of Lope de Vega on behalf of Alonso de Orozco put forward at the time of the latter's beatification.]

1478. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*. (Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42.) Madrid, 1783, vol. i, pp. 29–30.

1479. Cámara, R.P. Fr. Tomás, O.S.A.: *Vida y escritos del Beato Alonso de Orozco*. Valladolid, 1882. [There is a German translation and an adaptation in English; see No. 1485, below.]

1480. Cámara, R.P. Fr. Tomás: "La Beatificación del Ven. Alonso de Orozco," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1882, vol. iii, pp. 5–8.

1481. "Decreta circa beatificationem Ven. Alphonsi ab Orozco," in *Revista Agustiniana*, 1881, vol. i, pp. 68–71.

[For details connected with the beatification, see also 1882, vol. iii, pp. 101–10, 185–95, 381–5, 460–70, 581–3, 669–74; vol. iv, pp. 193, 288–9, 389, 563, 583.]

1482. Fariña, R.P. Fr. José A., O.S.B.: "La doctrina de oración del Beato Alonso de Orozco," in *La Vida Sobrenatural*. Salamanca, 1927. Vol. xiii, pp. 125–40, 246–52, 391–9. [Afterwards published (Barcelona, Gili) in book form.]

1483. Gante, F. A. de: *Vida del venerable padre Fr. Alonso de Orozco, etc., con un tratado, intitulado "Regla de vida cristiana,"* escrito por el mismo V. Padre. Madrid, 1719. [B.M., B.N.]

1484. Gutiérrez Cabezón, R.P. M., O.S.A.: "Los Nombres de Cristo del Beato Alonso de Orozco y de Fr. Luis de León," in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1912, vol. xc, pp. 422–32; 1912, vol. xci, pp. 31–43, 109–15; 1913, vol. xcv, pp. 161–79.

[The author makes Alonso de Orozco Luis de León's original.]

1485. Jones, Rev. W. A.: *Life of Blessed Alphonsus Orozco, O.S.A.*, compiled from the Spanish of Rt. Rev. Thomas Cámara, D.D., O.S.A., Bishop of Salamanca. Philadelphia, 1895.

1486. Márquez, R.P. Fr. Juan: *Vida del V.P. Fr. Alonso de Orozco.* Madrid, 1648.

1487. Monasterio, R.P. Ignacio, O.S.A.: in *Místicos agustinos españoles.* Madrid, 1929, vol. i, pp. 142–66.
[This book contains the articles on the same subject (Bibl., No. 81) in *España y América.*]

1488. Peers, E. Allison: *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey.* London, 1924, pp. 11–13, 53–9, 175–9.

1489. Quevedo, R.P. Manuel de: *Compendio breve de la dilatada vida del Ven. P. Fr. Alonso de Orozco.* Madrid, 1730.

1490. "Relación de la vida del Ven. P. Fr. Alonso de Orozco, escrita por el P.M. Fr. Hernando de Roxas, su confesor, y presentada en el proceso de Salamanca." (MS. inédito tomado de la Biblioteca Angélica de Roma.) In *Revista Agustiniana*, 1881, vol. i, pp. 87–91.

1491. Santiago Vela, R.P. Fr. Gregorio de, O.S.A.: *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín.* Obra basada en el catálogo bio-bibliográfico agustiniano del P. Bonifacio Moral. Madrid, 1913–22. 6 vols. [unfinished, *cf.* No. 838], vol. vi, pp. 96–169, 713–14.

1492. Santiago Vela, R.P. Fr. Gregorio de, O.S.A.: "De nueve nombres de Cristo," in *Archivo Histórico hispano-agustiniano*, 1922, vol. xvii, pp. 137–49.

DIEGO DE ESTELLA

I

Note.—The references to *A.I.A.* are to the articles described in Nos. 1658, 1662, below.

(*a*) Editions in Spanish

1493. *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios.* Hechas por el R.P. F. Diego de Estella de la Orden de San Francisco. Salamanca, 1576. [B.M., B.U., Sal. U.]

Other editions are:

1494. Salamanca, 1578. [B.S.I., B.U., Sal. U.]

1495. Barcelona, 1578. [B. Real Academia Española, B.U.]

1496. Lisbon, 1578. [B.S.I., B.N.L., T.L.B.]

1497. Salamanca, 1582. [*A.I.A.*, p. 244.]

1498. Alcalá, 1597. [B.N., B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U., Sal. U.] With this edition is bound up a separate volume entitled "Tabula remissionum rerum omnium quæ continentur in libris R.P. F. Didaci de Stella, de Vanitate seculi, et Meditationibus Amoris Dei. . . . Auctore F. Alfonso de Sançoles Provincia D. Jacobi Ordinis Minorum. Compluti, 1597." The index is arranged under the Gospels for the Sundays and Holy days of the Christian year. Earlier editions

were those of (**1499**) Salamanca, 1582, which I have not seen; (**1500**) Salamanca, 1583 [B.M., B.N.L.]; (**1501**) Zaragoza, 1583 [*A.I.A.*, p. 272]; (**1502**) Lisbon, 1583 [B.N.L.]; (**1503**) Salamanca, 1584 [B.N.]; (**1504**) Barcelona, 1585 [B.U.]; (**1505**) Salamanca, 1587 [B.N.]; (**1506**) Verona, 1593 [*A.I.A.*, p. 275]. For later editions, see *A.I.A.*, p. 276; (**1507**) Madrid, 1668 [with No. 1532, below]; (**1508**) Madrid, 1675 [with No. 1533, below]; (**1509**) Madrid, 1676 [with No. 1534, below]; (**1510**) Madrid, 1720 [B.N., B.S.I.]; (**1511**) Madrid, 1759 [with No. 1536, below]; (**1512**) Madrid, 1775 [with No. 1537, below]; (**1513**) Madrid, 1781, 2 vols. [B.N., R.B.E.]; (**1514**) Madrid, 1785 [with No. 1538, below]; (**1515**) Madrid, 1787 [with No. 1539, below].

1516. *Tratado de la vida, loores y excelencias del glorioso apóstol y bienaventurado evangelista San Juan, el más amado y querido discípulo de Cristo nuestro Salvador*, compuesto por el P.F. Diego de Estella, de la orden de los frailes menores. Lisbon, 1554. [B.M., B.N., B.N.L., H.S.A., Sev. U., T.L.B.]

1517. (Second edition) *Libro de las excelencias y vida de S. Juan Evangelista.* Corregido y añadido por el muy R.P. F. Cristóbal Moreno, O.F.M. Valencia, 1595. [Three chapters are added: see *A.I.A.*, p. 57.] [B.N., B.N.L., B.S.I., Gr. U.]

1518. *Vanidad del mundo, Libro de la . . .*, hecho por el padre fray Diego de San Cristóbal de Estella de la orden de San Francisco, etc. Toledo, 1562. [B.U.]

Later editions are:

1519. Alcalá, 1565. [No copy known. *A.I.A.*, *Suplemento*, etc., p. 385.]

1520. Alcalá, 1570. [B.N.L.]

1521. Zaragoza, 1570. [*A.I.A.* (No. 1658, below), p. 62.]

1522. Zaragoza, 1572. [*A.I.A.*, p. 62.]

1523. *Primera parte del libro de la Vanidad del mundo.* Hecho por el R.P. F. Diego de Estella, de la orden de San Francisco. Salamanca, 1574.

Segunda parte del libro, etc.

Tercera parte del libro, etc. [B.N., R.B.E.]

Other editions are: (**1524**) Salamanca, 1576 [B.M., B.N.]; (**1525**) Lisbon, 1576 [B.N.L.]; (**1526**) Salamanca, 1578 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 91–2]; (**1527**) Salamanca, 1581 [B. Real, Madrid, B.N.L.]; (**1528**) Barcelona, 1582 [B.R.Ac.Esp., B.U.]; (**1529**) Salamanca, 1583 [R.A.H.]; (**1530**) Lisbon, 1584 [B.N.L.]; (**1531**) Alcalá, 1597 [B.N., B. Real, B.S.I., Sal. U.]; (**1532**) Madrid, 1668 ("con sus índices muy copiosos y asuntos predicables, discurriendo por todas las Dominicas y fiestas del año") [B.N., B.N.L., Gr. U., Sev. U., see also No. 1507]; (**1533**) Madrid, 1675 [B.N.L., B.U. *Cf.* No. 1508]; (**1534**) Madrid, 1676 [B.N., B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca. *Cf.* No. 1509]; (**1535**) Madrid, 1720 [B.N.]; (**1536**) Madrid, 1759 [B.N.,

B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U. *Cf.* No. 1511]; (**1537**) Madrid, 1775 [B.N., C.A.F.V., H.S.A. *Cf.* No. 1512]; (**1538**) Madrid, 1785 [Mont., *A.I.A.*, pp. 100–1. *Cf.* No. 1514]; (**1539**) Madrid, 1787 [B.M., B.S.I., Sal. U., B. Sem. Cuenca. *Cf.* No. 1515]; (**1540**) Paris, 1847 (ed. Ochoa, "Colección de escritores españoles de Baudry," vol. xliv).

(*b*) Editions in Latin

1541. *In Sacrosanctum . . . evangelium secundum Lucam enarrationum.* Salamanca, 1574, 1575. 2 vols. [B.M., B.N., B.U., B.S.I., B. Prov. Cádiz, Sal. U.]

Other editions are: (**1542**) Alcalá, 1577, 1578 [B.M., B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U., Sal. U.]; (**1543**) Lyons, 1580 [B. Nat., B.U.]; (**1544**) (?) Lyons, 1581 [*A.I.A.*, p. 217]; (**1545**) Salamanca, 1582 [B.N., B.S.I., R.B.E., Sal. U.]; (**1546**) Venice, 1582 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 220–1]; (**1547**) Venice, (?) 1583 [*A.I.A.*, p. 221]; (**1548**) Lyons, 1583 [B.S.I., B.U.]; (**1549**) Lyons, 1583 [R.B.E.]; (**1550**) Lyons, (?) 1584 [*A.I.A.*, p. 222]; (**1551**) Antwerp, 1584 [B.N.L.]; (**1552**) Venice, 1586 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 223–4]; (**1553**) Antwerp, 1591 [N. Ant.; *A.I.A.*, p. 224, doubts its existence]; (**1554**) Lyons, 1592 [B.S.I.]; (**1555**) Antwerp, 1593 [B.N.L.]; (**1556**) Antwerp, 1599–1600 [B.N.L., B. Nat.]; (**1557**) Antwerp, 1606–8 [B.M.]; (**1558**) Antwerp, 1612 [*A.I.A.*, p. 228, also H.U.]; (**1559**) Antwerp, 1622 [B. Nat., B.U.]; (**1560**) Antwerp, 1635 ?–1653 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 229–30]; (**1561**) Antwerp, 1655 [*A.I.A.*, p. 230]; (**1562**) Mayence, 1680 [B.M., B. Nat.].

1563. *Modus concionandi, et explanatio in Psalm cxxxvi. Super flumina Babylonis.* Didaco Stella Minorita auctore. Salamanca, 1576. [B.S.I., B.U., Sal. U.]

Later editions are: (**1564**) Venice, 1584 [R.B.E.]; (**1565**) Cologne, 1586 [B.U., B. de l'Arsenal, Paris]; (**1566**) Cologne, 1587 [*A.I.A.*, p. 266]; (**1567**) Cologne, 1594 [B. Nat., R.B.E.]; (**1568**) Salamanca, 1596 [*A.I.A.*, p. 266]; (**1569**) Cologne, 1611 [*A.I.A.*, p. 266]; (**1570**) Paris, 1635 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 266–7]; (**1571**) Rome, 1693 [B.U.] ("Introductio ad lecturam theologiæ, etc.," pp. 274–349); (**1572**) Verona, 1732 [Sal. U.]; (**1573**) Madrid, 1772 [B.M., B.N., B.U., Sal. U.] ("Oratoria sacra: seu modus concionandi)."

1574. *De contemnendis mundi vanitatibus. Libri tres.* [From Foresti's Italian translation.] Cologne, 1585. [B.M., B.S.I.]

Other editions, based on the original Spanish edition, are: (**1575**) Cologne, 1587 [B.N.L.]; (**1576**) Cologne, 1590 [B.N.L.]; (**1577**) Cologne, 1594 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 67–8, also H.U.]; (**1578**) Cologne, 1598 [*A.I.A.*, p. 68. Also (?) (**1579**) Cologne, 1601]; (**1580**) Cologne, 1603 [B.M.]; (**1581**) Cologne, 1611 [*A.I.A.*, p. 68]; (**1582**) Cologne, 1614 [*A.I.A.*, p. 69];

(**1583**) Cologne, 1624 [*A.I.A.*, p. 69]; (**1584**) Louvain, 1664 [*A.I.A.*, pp 69–70].

Based on the Salamanca edition of 1574 are a number of Latin translations bearing no name of a translator: *Contemptus vanitatum mundi, etc. Cum tribus indicibus.* (**1584a**) Cologne, 1617 [B. Nat., *A.I.A.*, pp. 120–1]; (**1585**) Cologne, 1638 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 121–2]; (**1586**) Cologne, 1663 [B. Nat.]; (**1587**) Cologne, 1688 [*A.I.A.*, p. 123]; (**1588**) Cologne, 1724 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 123–4].

II

1589. *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios.* Barcelona, 1882. 2 vols.

1590. *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios.* Hechas por Fray Diego de Estella de la Orden de San Francisco, y ahora nuevamente impresas con un prólogo de Ricardo León. Madrid, 1920.

1591. *El amor divino*, por Fray Diego de Estella. Madrid, *n.d.*

[A modern reprint of eleven of the *Meditaciones del amor de Dios.*]

1592. *Tratado de la Vanidad del Mundo, dividido en tres libros.* Barcelona, 1883. 3 vols. [*La Verdadera Ciencia Española*, vols. xxxi–xxxiii.]

1593. *Tratado de la Vanidad del Mundo, con las cien meditaciones del amor de Dios, etc.* Santiago, 1883.

[Reprint of No. 1538. The *Meditaciones* are not included, in spite of the title-page.]

1594. *Tratado de la Vanidad del Mundo.* Madrid, 1908.

1595. *Oro espiritual.* Pensamientos selectos de Fr. Diego de Estella sobre la "Vanidad del Mundo," extractados por Don Cipriano Nievas. Madrid, 1925.

1596. *Más oro espiritual.* Pensamientos del "Amor de Dios" de Fray Diego de Estella, extractados por Don Cipriano Nievas. Madrid, 1925.

III

(*a*) Translations into English

1597. *A Hundred Meditations on the love of God.* By Robert Southwell, priest of the Society of Jesus. Edited, with a preface, by John Morris, priest of the same Society. London, 1873.

[These meditations are translations of Estella's, though the fact is not stated on the title-page, and the editor writes of them as Southwell's.]

1598. *Meditations on the Love of God.* Translated from the Spanish . . . by H. W. Pereira. London, 1898.

1599. *The contempte of the world and the vanitie thereof*, written by the Reverend F. D. de Stella . . . and of late translated out of Italian into English [by G. C.]. [Douai ?], 1584. [B.M., which has also the third edition (**1600**), St. Omers, 1622.]

1601. *A Methode unto mortification: called heretofore the contempt of the world and the vanitie thereof.* Written at the first in the Spanish . . . now reformed and published by T. Rogers. London, 1586. [B.M.]

Later edition: (**1602**) London, 1608. [B.M.]

(*b*) Translations into French

1603. *Méditations très dévotes de l'amour de Dieu*, par le Révérend Père Fr. Diego de Stella de l'Ordre de San François, mises d'espagnol en français par Gabriel Chappuys d'Amb., Tourangeau. Paris, 1586. [B. Nat.]

A.I.A., p. 65, mentions a French translation of the *Libro de la Vanidad del Mundo* (**1604**) published in Paris, 1578, but gives no details. *Revue d'histoire franciscaine*, vol. i, p. 558, adds that no copy is known.

1605. *Livre de la vanité du monde, divisé en trois parties*, composé par R.P.F. Diego de Estella, religieux de l'Observance, revu, corrigé et augmenté suivant le dernier exemplaire espagnol par Gabriel Chappuis, Tourangeau. Paris, 1587. [B. Nat.]

1606. *Livre de la vanité du monde, divisé en trois parties:* composé par R.P.F. Jacques de l'Estoille, Religieux de l'Observance, etc. Louvain, 1594. [See *A.I.A.*, pp. 65–6.]

The above French translations are based on the original edition. Those based on the revised edition of 1574 (Salamanca) include: (**1607**) Paris, 1587–9 (also by Gabriel Chappuys) [B. Nat.]; (**1608**) Paris, 1601 [B. Nat., incomplete]; (**1609**) Lyons, 1609 [*A.I.A.*, p. 276; *Suplemento*, etc., pp. 386–7]; (**1610**) Lyons, 1623–4 [B. Nat.]; (**1611**) Lyons, 1633–4 [B. Nat.].

[*Latin through French*]

1612. *De Amore Dei Meditationes piisimæ. Primo ex hispanico in gallicum, denuo nunc primum in latinum sermonem redactæ, studio et opera Joannis Governerii Presbyteri theologi.* Cologne, 1602. [*A.I.A.*, p. 250.]

Other editions are: (**1613**) Cologne, 1603 [*A.I.A.*, p. 250]; (**1614**) Cologne, 1639 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 250–1].

(*c*) Translations into Italian

For Italian translations of the *Meditaciones*, see Nos. 1634–1643 (asterisked) below, in which these are bound up with the *Tratado de la Vanidad del Mundo*. The following are separate editions in Italian: (**1615**) Venice, 1584 [B. Nat.]; (**1616**) Venice, 1606 [*A.I.A.*, p. 248]; (**1617**) Padua, 1740 [*A.I.A.*, p. 248]; (**1618**) Piacenza, 1778 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 248–9]; (**1619**) Milan, 1829 [*A.I.A.*, p. 249].

1620. *Libro della Vanità*, composto dal R.P.F. Diego di Stella, etc. Diviso in tre parti, etc. Nuovamente tradotto di Spagnuolo in

lingua toscana da Gieremia Foresti. Florence, 1573. [B. de l'Arsenal, Paris.]

Other editions based on the original Spanish edition are: (**1621**) Venice, 1574 [Sal. U.]; (**1622**) Venice, 1575 [*A.I.A.*, p. 64]; (**1623**) Venice, 1578 [*A.I.A.*, p. 64].

The editions based on the Salamanca edition of 1574 include: (**1624**) Florence, 1581 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 104–5]; (**1625**) Venice, 1583 [*A.I.A.*, p. 105]; (**1626**) Florence, 1585 [*A.I.A.*, p. 105]; (**1627**) Venice, 1589 [*A.I.A.*, p. 106]; (**1628**) Venice, 1594 [*A.I.A.*, p. 106]; (**1629**) Venice, 1598 [B. Nat., *A.I.A.*, pp. 106–7]; (**1630**) Venice, 1601 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 107–8]; (**1631**) Venice, 1604 [P.L.B., *A.I.A.*, pp. 108–9]; (**1632**) Verona, 1604 [*A.I.A.*, p. 109]; (**1633**) Venice, 1612 [*A.I.A.*, p. 109]; (**1634**) Venice, 1626* [*A.I.A.*, pp. 109–10]; (**1635**) Venice, 1654* [*A.I.A.*, p. 110]; (**1636**) Venice, 1666* [*A.I.A.*, p. 111]; (**1637**) Venice, 1679* [*A.I.A.*, pp. 111–12]; (**1638**) Venice, 1687* [B. Nat., *A.I.A.*, p. 112]; (**1639**) Venice, 1701* [*A.I.A.*, pp. 112–13]; (**1640**) Venice, 1715* [*A.I.A.*, p. 113]; (**1641**) Venice, 1724* [*A.I.A.*, pp. 113–14]; (**1642**) Venice, 1737* [*A.I.A.*, pp. 114–15]; (**1643**) Venice, 1743* [*A.I.A.*, p. 115]; (**1644**) Naples, 1766 [*A.I.A.*, p. 115]; (**1645**) Piacenza, 1779 [*A.I.A.*, pp. 115–16].

[*Latin through Italian*]

1646. *De contemnendis mundi vanitatibus, libri tres. Recenter ex hispanica lingua in Italicam traducti per Hieremiam Foresti; iam vero ex Italica in Latinam translati a Petro Burgundo.* Cologne, 1585. [B.M., B. Nat., B.S.I.]

(*d*) Other Translations

1647. *Hundert van der Liebe Gottes schöne ausserlesene und andechtige Betrachtungen, etc.* Cologne, 1607. [From the Latin. *A.I.A.*, p. 251.]

There is a (**1648**) Polish translation (1731) in B.M. For an (**1649**) Arabic translation, see *A.I.A.*, p. 252.

1650. *Weltlicher Eitelkeit Verachtung* . . . Erstlich aus Spanischer Sprach ins Latein versetzt . . . verdeutscht durch Jodocum Lorichum, etc. Cologne, 1586. [*A.I.A.*, p. 70.]

A.I.A. (pp. 70–2, 277) gives details also of the following German translations: (**1651**) Ingolstadt, 1589; (**1652**) Ingolstadt, 1602; (**1653**) Ingolstadt, 1618; (**1654**) Cologne, 1705; (**1655**) Mindelheim, 1726; (**1656**) Augsburg, 1753.

A.I.A. (pp. 73–5, 124–8, and *Suplemento*, pp. 386, 388) also gives details of translations into Flemish, Dutch, Polish, Czech, Arabic and Mexican.

IV

1657. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova.* (Cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42.) Madrid, 1783, vol. i, pp. 282–3.

1658. *Centenario del nacimiento del Padre Fray Diego de Estella*, 1524–1924. (A special number (Año xi, Núm. lxiv) of *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, Julio-Agosto, 1924, pp. 1–278.)

[The most substantial piece of work that has yet appeared on Estella. Referred to as *A.I.A.* above. *Cf.* also *Revue d'histoire franciscaine*, Paris, 1924, vol. i, pp. 558–9.]

1659. *Fray Diego de Estella y su IV Centenario.* Estella, 1924.

[A volume, by various authors, commemorating the fourth centenary, August 1924, and containing several essays of value on Diego de Estella's life and writings. The biographical essay contains a more succinct bibliography (pp. 75–87) than that of *A.I.A.*, and also a short list (pp. 85–6) of works which deal with Estella.]

1660. Peers, E. Allison: *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey.* London, 1924, pp. 34–5, 138–56, 244–59.

1661. Rousselot, Paul: *Les Mystiques Espagnols.* Paris, 1867. Pp. 123–44.

1662. "Suplemento bibliográfico de Fr. Diego de Estella," in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 1924, vol. xxii, pp. 384–8.

1663. *Tabula rerum omnium, quae continentur in tribus libris D. Stellæ . . . de Vanitate Seculi, etc.* [See No. 1498, above, for a list of the editions of this table.]

1664. Vargas, Marqués de: "Biografía, genealogía y obras de Fray Diego de San Cristóbal, vulgarmente llamado Fray Diego de Estella," in *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos históricos y artísticos de Navarra*, 1914, pp. 66–75.

1665. Vargas, Marqués de: "Fray Diego de San Cristóbal o de Estella," in *Revista de Historia y de Genealogía española*, 1914, Año iii, No. 5, págs. 207–17.

1666. Zalba, José: *Fr. Diego de Estella.* Estudio histórico, 1924 (Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra. Monografía No. 2).

CRISTÓBAL DE FONSECA

I

(*a*) Editions in Spanish

1667. *Discursos para todos los Evangelios de la Cuaresma.* Madrid, 1614. [B. Cat., B.M., B.N., B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca, Sal. U.] *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 1278. In the preliminaries (licences, etc.), this is described as *Quinta parte de la Vida de Cristo.*

1668. *Tratado del amor de Dios.* Compuesto por el P. Maestro F. Cristóbal de Fonseca de la orden de S. Agustín. Salamanca, 1592. [B.M., B.N., B. Sem. Cuenca.]

Other editions are:

[Barcelona, 1593. G.S.V., who, however, is not sure that it existed. I believe it to be identical with the edition next mentioned, which G.S.V. does not list.]

1669. Barcelona, 1594. [B. Cat., B.U.]

1670. Barcelona, 1595. [N. Ant. But G.S.V. does not know it, and I have found no other mention of it.]

1671. Lisbon, 1595. [G.S.V. No copy found.]

1672. Valladolid, 1595. [B.N., B.S.I., B.U., C.A.F.V., Mont., Sal. U.]

1673. Córdoba, 1596. [G.S.V. Convent of MM. Agustinas de la Encarnación, Madrid. *Cf.* J.M.V., No. 41.]

1674. Zaragoza, 1596. [B.U. J.M.S. and G.S.V. add: B. Prov., Palma.]

1675. Zaragoza, 1597. [B. Cat., B.U. G.S.V. adds: Bibl. Angélica, Rome, and Bibl. Prov., Palma. I have compared this edition with the last and found them to be practically identical. *Cf.* J.M.S., No. 821.]

1676. Lisbon, 1598. [B.M., Sal. U., T.L.B.]

1677. Toledo, 1598. [An enlarged edition. B. Cat., B.M., B.N., B. Sem. Cuenca, Sant. U. *Cf.* P.P.T. No. 430. See also text, p. 258, above.]

1678. Barcelona, 1599. [B.N., B. Nat., Val. U.]

1679. *Tratado del Amor de Dios,* compuesto por el P.M.F. Cristóbal de Fonseca, de la Orden de S. Agustín. Barcelona, 1606. [B.M.P., B.U.]

Later editions are: (**1680**) Barcelona, 1608 [G.S.V. Not found]; (**1681**) Barcelona, 1613 [B.N., B.U., C.A.F.V.].

1682. *Segunda parte del tratado del amor de Dios, etc.* Valencia, 1608. 2 vols. [B.N., B. Nat., B.S.I., Sev. U.]

1683. *Primera y segunda parte del tratado del amor de Dios.* Madrid, 1620. [B.S.I., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia, Gr. U. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 1657. G.S.V., vol. ii, p. 628, thinks there was an earlier edition, Madrid, 1610.]

Substantially identical with this edition is that of (**1684**) Madrid, 1622 (the colophon has 1620), which has the words: "Va enmendada y añadida esta última impresión por su mismo autor." [B.N., B.U., Sal. U.]

1685. *Primera parte de la vida de Cristo Señor Nuestro.* Compuesto por el Padre Maestro Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca, de la orden del glorioso Padre San Agustín. Toledo, 1596. [B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca, Gr. U., Sal. U. *Cf.* P.P.T. 419.]

Other editions are: (**1686**) Barcelona, 1597 [B. Cat., B.U.]; (**1687**) Toledo, 1598 [B.N., B.M., Sant. U., Sev. U. *Cf.* P.P.T., No. 431]; (**1688**) Barcelona, 1598 [B. Nat.]; (**1689**)

Madrid, 1601 [N. Ant.]; (**1690**) Alcalá, 1601 ("Van enmendados en esta impresión algunos descuidos de la primera y añadidas cosas de mucha importancia") [B.N., B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 781]; (**1691**) Madrid, 1605 [B.S.I., B.U. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 905]; (**1692**) Madrid, 1621 [B.S.I., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia, B.U., Sal. U. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 1739]; (**1693**) Madrid, 1622 [R.A.H., Sal. U. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 1836].

1694. *Segunda parte de la vida de Cristo Señor Nuestro, que trata de sus milagros, etc.* Toledo, 1601. [B.N., B. Sem. Cuenca. *Cf.* P.P.T., No. 441.]

Other editions are: (**1695**) Barcelona, 1602 [B.N., B.U.]; (**1696**) Lisbon, 1602 [Gr. U., T.L.B.]; (**1697**) Madrid, 1603 (a note on the title-page reads: "Los errores de la primera impresión, por haberse hecho en mi ausencia, fueron tantos, que me obligan a no reconocerla por mía, y a cualquiera otra que se hubiere hecho por ella en Portugal o Aragón") [B.N., B.U., Sal. U., Sant. U. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 833]; (**1698**) Valencia, 1608 [Sal. U.]; (**1699**) Madrid, 1621 [B.S.I., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia, B.U.].

1700. *Tercera parte de la vida de Cristo Señor Nuestro, que trata de sus parábolas.* Compuesta por el P.M. Fr. Cristóbal de Fonseca, etc. Madrid, 1605. [B. Cat., B.N., B.U., C.A.F.V., Sal. U., Sant. U., Vall. U.]

Other editions are: (**1701**) Barcelona, 1606 [B.U., Sal. U.]; (**1702**) Madrid, 1621 [B.S.I., B.U., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia]; (**1703**) Madrid, 1622 [R.A.H.].

1704. *Cuarta parte de la vida de Cristo Señor Nuestro, que trata de su doctrina. Y contiene los Evangelios de los Santos, y Domingos del año, y Extravagantes.* Madrid, 1611. [B.N., B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca, Sal. U. *Cf.* C.P.P. 1136.]

Another edition: (**1705**) Madrid, 1621. [B. Cat., B.N., B.S.I., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia, B.U., Sal. U.]

(*b*) Editions in Latin

1706. *Amphiteatrum amorum a R.P.M. Christophoro Fonseca, Eremita Augustiniano,* Hispanice compositum a . . . Cornelio Curtio, etc. Ingolstadt, 1623. [B. Nat. G.S.V. also gives C.A.F.V.]

1707. *Conciones quadragesimales P. Fr. Cristophori Fonseca,* ex hispanico idiomate in latinum translatæ. Cologne, 1628. [So G.S.V.; N. Ant. has 1618. The translation is of No. 1667.]

Presumably this is the *Sermones quadragesimales R.P.M. Christophori Fonsecæ* . . . interprete R.P. Cornelio Curtio. Cologne, 1628. [B. Nat.]

III

(*a*) Translations into English

1708. *Devout Contemplations, expressed in two and fortie Sermons upon all ye Quadragesimall Gospells.* Written in Spanish by Fr. Ch. de Fonseca. Englished by J. M[abbe] of Magdalen College in Oxford. London, 1629. [B.M., B. Nat.]

1709. *Θειον Ενωτικον.* A Discourse of Holy Love, by which the Soul is united unto God. Containing the various Acts of Love, the proper motives, and the exercise of it in order to duty and perfection. Written in Spanish by the learned Christopher de Fonseca. Done into English with some variation and much addition, by Sir George Strode, Knight. London, printed by J. Flesher, for Richard Royston, at the Angel in Ivy Lane, 1652. [B.M.]

(*b*) Translations into other Modern Languages

1710. *Sermons sur les dimanches et festes de l'année* . . . composez en espagnol par R.P. Chrystofle Fonseque . . . et . . . traduits en françois par M.R. Gaultier. Paris, 1613. [B. Nat.]

1711. *Traité de l'amour de Dieu.* Paris, 1605. [By Nicolas Maillard. No copy found.]

1712. *Discorsi scritturali e morali sopra gli Evangeli correnti di tutto l'anno . . . dove si contengono la vita, dottrina, miracoli, e le parabole di Giesu Christo Nostro Signore.* . . . Del M.R.P.M.F. Christoforo Fonseca. . . . Di nuovo tradotti dalla lingua spagnuola nella italiana dal Sig. Giulio Girelli, etc. Venice, 1618. 3 vols. [B. Barberini, Vatican, Rome.]

Second edition (**1713**): Venice, 1622. [C.A.F.V. *Cf.* G.S.V., vol. ii, p. 635.]

1714. *Trattato dell'Amore di Dio.* [First part.] Brescia, 1602. [N. Ant. No copy found.]

1715. *Trattato dell'Amore di Dio.* Venice, 1608. [C.A.F.V.]

IV

1716. Alonso Cortés, Narciso: *El falso "Quijote" y Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca.* Valladolid, 1920.

1717. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42), vol. i, pp. 244–5.

1718. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino: *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España*, 2nd edition. Madrid, 1896, vol. iii, pp. 149–50.

1719. Monasterio, R.P. Ignacio, O.S.A.: *Místicos agustinos españoles.* Madrid, 1929, vol. i, pp. 317–32.

[This book contains the articles on the same subject (Bibl., No. 81) in *España y América.*]

1720. Santiago Vela, R.P. Gregorio de, O.S.A.: *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana, etc.* (No. 1491, above), vol. ii, pp. 621–39.

1721. Vacant, J. M. A., et Mangenot, E.: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. vi. Paris, 1920, cols. 523–4.

[*Note.*—On Fonseca's supposed authorship of a (**1722**) *Diccionario de vocablos castellanos, aplicados a la propiedad latina*, cf. G.S.V., vol. ii, pp. 636–8.]

PEDRO MALÓN DE CHAIDE

I

1723. *Libro de la Conversión de la Magdalena, en que se exponen los tres estados que tuvo de Pecadora y de Penitente, y de Gracia; fundado sobre el Evangelio que pone la Iglesia en su fiesta, que dice: Rogabat Iesum quidam Pharisæus, ut manducaret cum illo.* Luc. 7 F. Compuesto por el Maestro Fray Pedro Malón de Chaide, de la Orden de S. Agustín, etc. Barcelona, 1588. [B.N.]

Later editions are: (**1724**) Alcalá, 1590 [G.S.V., vol. v, p. 98. No copy found]; (**1725**) Alcalá, 1592 [B.N., H.S.A., R.B.E. *Cf.* Salvá, No. 755]; (**1726**) Alcalá, 1593 [B.N., H.S.A.]; (**1727**) Madrid, 1593 [B.N.]; (**1728**) Alcalá, 1596 [B.S.I., Val. U.]; (**1729**) Alcalá, 1598 [R.B.E.]; (**1730**) Madrid, 1598 [B.N. See C.P.P., No. 577; G.S.V., vol. v, p. 99]; (**1731**) Valencia, 1600 [B.N., B.U., H.S.A.]; (**1732**) Lisbon, 1601 [B.M.P.]; (**1733**) Alcalá, 1602 [B.N.]; (**1734**) Alcalá, 1603 [B.S.I., Vall. U.]; (**1735**) Madrid, 1604 [G.S.V., vol. v, p. 101, who cites Pérez Pastor (C.P.P., No. 874) as sole evidence]; (**1736**) Valencia, 1794 [B.N., B.U., H.S.A., Mont., T.L.B., Val. U.].

[*Note.*—That there existed an edition of Barcelona, 1598 [G.S.V., vol. v, p. 100] seems to me very doubtful.]

1737. Tratado de la conversión de la Magdalena, sobre el Evangelio que se pone en su fiesta, in *Colección de los mejores autores españoles*, tom. xliv, pp. 271–357. Paris, 1847. [Incomplete version, with a bibliographical note on the author, by Eugenio de Ochoa.]

1738. "La conversión de la Magdalena, etc." In B.A.E., vol. xxvii, pp. 274–417. Madrid, 1853. [Has a critical estimate of the author.]

II

1739. *Libro de la Conversión de la Magdalena, etc.* Barcelona, 1881. 2 vols. (*La Verdadera Ciencia Española*, vols. vii, ix.)

1740. *El alma en gracia* (*Tratado del amor*) *por Fray Pedro Malón de Chaide.* Madrid, *n.d.* (? 1899). [The first part of *La Conversión de la Magdalena.* Some shorter extracts still are published in the same collection, as *El amor en la mística española.*]

III

1741. *Ein geistreiches Tractätlein: von dem dreifachen Stand der h. Mariæ Magdalenæ . . . Durch den ehrwürdigen hochgelehrten Herrn Petrum Malon Augustiner.* Durch Aegidium Albertinum übersetzt. Munich, 1604. [B.S.I.]

IV

1742. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42), p. 211.

1743. Arco, Ricardo del: "El P. Malón de Chaide. Nuevos datos para su biografía," in *Estudio*, 1919, vol. xxviii, pp. 342–62.

1744. Capmany y Montpalau, Antonio: *Teatro histórico-crítico de la elocuencia española.* Madrid, 1786–94, vol. iii, pp. 431–71. [Extracts and critical appreciation.]

1745. Cía y Álvarez, J. M.: "Las Ideas Estéticas en los clásicos navarros: Fray Pedro Malón de Echaide," in *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos de Navarra.* Pamplona, 1924, vol. xv, pp. 53–7.

1746. Lasso de la Vega, Angel: "Fray Pedro Malón de Chaide, su influencia en los adelantos del lenguaje castellano," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xviii, 1889, pp. 381–6.

1747. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino: *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España.* 2nd edition. Madrid, 1896, vol. iii, pp. 139–48.

1748. Monasterio, R.P. Ignacio, O.S.A.: *Místicos agustinos españoles.* Madrid, 1929, vol. i, pp. 230–48.
[This book contains the articles on the same subject (Bibl., No. 81) in *España y América.*]

1749. Peers, E. Allison: *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey.* London, 1924. Pp. 30–2, 118–26, 229–35.

1750. Pidal, Pedro José, Marqués de Pidal: *Estudios literarios.* Madrid, 1890, vol. ii, pp. 143–75.

1751. Rousselot, Paul: *Les Mystiques espagnols.* Paris, 1867. Pp. 81–113.

1752. Santiago Vela, R.P. Gregorio de, O.S.A.: *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana, etc.* (No. 1491, above), vol. v, pp. 91–106.

TOMÁS DE JESÚS

For a list of still unpublished works by this writer, see *Cursus, etc.* (No. 1813), vol. i, p. 303.

I

(*a*) Edition of Complete Works

1753. *Opera omnia, etc.* Cologne, 1684. 2 vols. [B. Nat., Carmelite Convent, Bruges.]
Contains:—Vol. i: *De procuranda salute omnium gentium, etc.; Expositio in regulam Ordinis Carmelitarum, etc.; De Statu Monachorum, etc.; De regularium visitatione; Epistola ad Joannem a S. Hieronymo: De regimine prælatorum.* Vol. ii: *Praxis*

vivæ fidei qua iustus vivit ; Via brevis et plana orationis mentalis (cf. *Cursus*, vol. i, p. 301) ; *Instructio spiritualis eorum qui vitam eremiticam profitentur ; De contemplatione divina, libri sex ; Divinæ orationis sive a Deo infusæ methodus natura et gradus libri quattuor ; Commentaria theologica in quæstiones* 171, 172, 173, 174, 175 *secundæ secundæ Divi Thomæ Aquinatis, etc.*

(*b*) Editions of Single Works in Spanish

1754. *Libro de la Antigüedad y santos de la Orden de Nuestra Señora del Carmen ; y de los especiales privilegios de su cofradía.* Compuesta por el P.F. Tomás de Jesús, Provincial de la provincia de S. Elías de religiosos descalzos de la primitiva observancia de la misma Orden. Salamanca, 1599. [B.S.I., B.U., Sal. U., Sant. U.]

1755. *Instrucción espiritual, para los que profesan la vida eremítica.* Por el muy reverendo P. Fr. Tomás de Jesús, Definidor de los Carmelitas Descalzos de la Congregación de Italia. Madrid, 1629. [B.N.; Convento de PP. Carmelitas Descalzos, Madrid ; New York Public Library.]

The first edition is that of (**1756**) Louvain, 1626 ; I have found no copy in Spain, but am assured that it is not rare. A later edition is that of (**1757**) Valencia, 1698. [B.U.]

1758. *Oración mental, Tratado de la . . ., de sus partes y grados, en que se instruye al alma sobre el modo de conducirse con provecho en tan santo y útil ejercicio.* Rome, 1610. [See No. 1769.]

Later editions are : (**1759**) Valencia, 1613 [see No. 1770] ; (**1760**) Madrid, 1615 [see No. 1771] ; (**1761**) Brussels, 1616 [see No. 1771a] ; (**1762**) Valencia, 1623 [see No. 1772].

1763. *Práctica de la viva fe de que el justo vive y se sustenta.* Por el P.F. Tomás de Jesús, Vicario General de los religiosos y religiosas descalzos de Nuestra Señora del Carmen en Flandes y Alemania. Brussels, 1613. [P. Anastase : *Cursus*, vol. i, p. 301. No copy found.]

Later editions are : (**1764**) Brussels, 1617 [B. Cat.] ; (**1765**) Barcelona, 1618 [B.U.] ; (**1766**) Barcelona, 1858, "anotado y aclarado por el Dr. D. Julián González de Soto" [B. Sem. Conc., Segovia ; R.B.E.].

N. Ant. mentions a French translation (by Cyprian of the Nativity of Our Lady), Paris, 1644, and a Latin translation, Cologne, 1618.

1767. *Reglas para examinar y discernir el interior aprovechamiento de un alma.* Por el Padre Fray Tomás de Jesús, Provincial de los Descalzos Carmelitas en la provincia de Flandes y Alemania. Brussels, 1620. [B.U., Convento de PP. Carmelitas Descalzos, Segovia.]

P. Anastase [*Cursus*, vol. i, p. 302] cites also French (1620) and Flemish (1644) translations of this work, but does not give their whereabouts.

Another edition (**1768**), Barcelona, 1621 [B. Ter., B.U.], contains also the *Avisos Espirituales* of St. Teresa.

At the end of the *Avisos y Sentencias Espirituales* of San Juan de la Cruz (Barcelona, 1724 [Bibl., No. 574]) is a copy of the above work (pp. 553–632) [B. Ter., B.U.].

1769. *Suma y compendio de los grados de oración, por donde sube un alma a la perfección de la contemplación;* sacado de todos los libros y escritos que compuso la B. Madre Teresa de Jesús, fundadora de la reformación de Carmelitas Descalzos. Colegido por el Padre F. Tomás de Jesús, religioso de la misma orden. Juntamente con otro tratado breve de la oración mental, y de sus partes, compuesto por el mismo autor. Rome, 1610. [B. Ter., B.U.]

[The date of this first edition is often given wrongly as 1609. It contains the *Suma*, as above, *Avisos*, *Exclamaciones* and *Relaciones* of St. Teresa (abridged) and the treatise by Fr. Tomás as above.]

Another edition, exactly similar, is that of (**1770**) Valencia, 1613. [B. Ter.]

Ghent has an edition (**1771**) of Madrid, 1615; B. Royale, Brussels, has an edition (**1771a**) of Brussels, 1616. Sarriá has an edition (**1772**) of Valencia, 1623, which prints at the end St. Teresa's *Conceptos* and the Seven Meditations on the Paternoster.

These editions give the *Tratado breve* a separate title-page, the title running thus:

Tratado de oración mental; de sus partes y estados que comúnmente llaman de principiantes, aprovechados y perfectos. Donde brevemente se declara qué cosa sea oración mental, cuáles sus partes y grados, y los ejercicios propios y acomodados para los que tratan de oración, según el estado y aprovechamiento de cada uno.

Later editions are: (**1773**) Valladolid, 1665. [B.N., B. Ter. Described as the fourth impression, this omits the *Tratado de oración mental*, but retains the treatises of St. Teresa already mentioned (No. 1769, above) including also the *Conceptos* and the Seven Meditations on the Paternoster added in 1623.]

Approximately similar are: (**1774**) Barcelona, 1725 [B. Ter., B.U., Sev. U.]; (**1775**) Madrid, 1793 [B. Ter., Ghent].

(*c*) Editions of Single Works in Latin

1776. *Commentaria . . . de statu monachorum. . . . Adiuncta expositione in omnes fermè regulas sanctorum, Basilii, Augustini, Benedicti, Francisci, ac aliorum Ordinum præcipuè in regulam Carmelitarum.* Auctore R.P.F. Thoma a Jesu, [O.C.D.] . . . per Belgium et Germaniam Vicario generali. Antwerp, 1617. [B.U.]

[The exposition has separate pagination and title-page.]

1777. *Commentaria in regulam primitivam fratrum Beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Monte Carmeli, quæ in nova Discalceatorum reformatione servatur. . . .* Auctore P.F. Thomas a Jesu, Biaciensi Provinciale

eiusdem Ordinis in Provinciæ Sancti Eliæ Prophetæ. Salamanca, 1599. [B.U., Sal. U.]

1778. *De contemplatione divina, libri sex*, auctore R.P.F. Thoma a Jesu, Carmelitarum excalceatorum in Belgio et Germania Provinciali. Antwerp, 1620. [B.U., B. Nat., Sal. U.]

1779. *Divinæ orationis sive a Deo infusæ methodus, natura et gradus. Libri quattuor: quibus mirabilis Dei, in promovendis ad veram, pacatam, divinamque ac fruitivam unionem animabus, methodus et via ostenditur: ac præterea quam plurima divinarum internarumque affectionum ac Mysticæ Theologiæ arcana, clariori ac pleniori stylo, ad mentem Scripturarum et SS. Patrum, explicantur.* Auctore R.P.F. Thoma a Jesu, Carmelitarum excalceatorum per Belgium et Germaniam Exprovinciali. Antwerp, 1623. [B. Nat., B.U., Ghent, Sal. U.]

1780. *Expositio in omnes ferme Regulas Sanctorum, etc.* Antwerp, 1617. [P. Anastase, *Cursus*, vol. i, p. 302.]

1781. *Instructio spiritualis eorum qui vitam eremiticam profitentur.* Louvain, 1626. [Ghent.]

1782. *Methodus examinandi et discernendi spiritualem animæ profectum, etc.* Brussels, 1620. [Bibliothèque des Carmes, Courtrai.] N. Ant. gives also an edition of Cologne, 1623. [No copy found.]

1783. *Praxis vivæ fidei qua justus vivit, etc.* Ex hispanico in latinum sermonem traducta per alium ejusdem Ordinis Religiosum. Cologne, 1618. [Ghent.]

Other editions are: (**1784**) Bruges, 1625 [Ghent]; (**1785**) Bruges, 1725 [Ghent]; (**1786**) Bruges, 1765 [Ghent].

1787. *De Præsentia Dei.* [N. Ant., who adds: "Opus Thomæ nostri laudat Emmanuel Romanus in Elucidationibus Carmelitanis." No date or place given. No copy found.]

De procuranda salute omnium gentium, etc. [This is only another title of No. 1794, *q.v.*]

1788. *De regularium visitatione liber, in quo clare, ac breviter ea omnia, quæ in Visitandis Regularibus, tam quoad theoriam, quam quoad praxim observanda sunt, ex communi theologorum doctrina diligenter excerpta, traduntur.* Auctore Rev. P.F. Thoma a Jesu, Hispano Biacensi, Carmelitarum excalceatorum Definitore Generali. Rome, 1625. [B.U., Ghent.]

A second edition ("correctior") (**1789**), Douai, 1634, is in B.U. The third edition (**1790**) is that of Antwerp, 1635. [P. Anastase: *Cursus*, vol. i, p. 302.]

1791. *Speculum religiosorum.* Antwerp, 1625. [N. Ant. No copy found.]

1792. *Commentaria de statu monachorum, etc.* Antwerp, 1617. [Bibliothèque des Carmes, Courtrai.]

1793. *Stimulus missionum, sive de propaganda a religiosis per universum orbem Fide.* Rome, 1610. [B. Nat., Ghent.]

1794. *Thesaurus sapientiæ divinæ, in gentium omnium salute procuranda. Schismaticorum, hæreticorum, Judæorum, Sarracenorum, cæteror-*

umque infidelium errores demostrans, etc. Auctore R.P. Thoma a Jesu, Biatiensi Hispano, Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum in Belgio superiore. Antwerp, 1613. [B. Nat., B. Royale, Brussels, B.S.I., Ghent, Sal. U.]

Note: A later edition of 1652 is often mentioned, but has not been found.

1795. *De unione schismaticorum cum ecclesia catholica.* Paris, 1841. [Ghent.]

1796. *De visitatione Religiosorum.* Douai, 1634. [N. Ant., who, however, queries. No copy found.]

II

1797. *Tratado de la oración mental, de sus partes y grados, etc.* Burgos, 1891.

[A popular devotional edition.]

Another edition: (**1798**) Ávila, 1898.

1799. *De Contemplatione acquisita* (*opus ineditum*) *et Via brevis et plana orationis mentalis.* Edidit et annotavit P. Eugenius a Sto. Joseph, O.C.D. Milan, 1922. [Vol. i of *Bibliotheca Mystica Theresiana.*]

III

(*a*) Translations into French

1800. *Traité de la Contemplation divine, particulièrement de celle qui, avec la faveur du ciel, se peut acquérir par notre travail. . . .* Et nouvellement mis en lumière par les soins du R.P. Maurice de S. Matthieu, religieux du même ordre. Liège, 1675. [Cited by P. Anastase, *Cursus*, vol. i, p. 301. See his note upon the contents of this book. A copy exists in the Discalced Carmelite Convent at Antwerp, and another at the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.]

1801. *La meilleure part, ou la vie contemplative.* Brussels, 1886.

[A free and not complete translation of the work later published in the original Latin (No. 1799).]

1802. *Règles pour examiner l'avancement intérieur d'une âme. Avec une briève méthode pour faire les exercices spirituels, etc.* Paris, 1620. [Bibliothèque des Carmes, Courtrai.]

1803. *Sommaire et abrégé des degrés de l'oraison, avec un autre bref traité de l'oraison mentale.* Paris, 1612. [Ghent.]

1804. *La vie du juste dans la pratique de la vive foi.* Composé par le R.P. Thomas de Jésus, etc. Et nouvellement traduit de l'Espagnol en Français par le R.P. Cyprien de la Nativité de la Vierge, religieux du même Ordre. Paris, 1644. [Ghent.]

1805. "La vie contemplative selon l'enseignement traditionnel des carmes déchaussés. (3) Extraits des ouvrages du V.P. Thomas de Jésus, C.D." [Latin text with French translation.] In *Études carmélitaines*, 1927, vol. xii, pp. 53–102.

(*b*) Translations into Italian

1806. *Compendio dell'oratione mentale.* Opera del rev. padre Fra Tomaso di Giesù, Carmelitano scalzo. Nuovamente dalla lingua spagnuola nell'italiana tradotta. In Bracciando, 1652. [B.U.]
[Includes a translation of the *Reglas* (No. 1767).]

1807. *Trattato della presenza di Dio*, composto dal M.R.P. Tommaso di Giesù, già Provinciale e Definitor Generale de' Carmelitani Scalzi, tradotto dalla lingua spagnuola nell'italiana dal P.F. Chrisostomo di S. Paolo, Carmelitano Scalzo, etc. Rome, 1685. [B. Nat.]

(*c*) Translations into Flemish

1807a. *Een korte maniere om den gheestelyken voortganck der zielen t'onderzoecken ende t'onderscheyden.* Ghemaeckt door den Eerw. Heere P. Thomas a Jesu, Provinciael der ongeschoyde Carmeliten van Nederlandt, etc. Brussels, 1644. [B. des Carmes, Courtrai.]

1807b. *Korten Wegh tot het innigh Ghebedt.* Door den Eerweerdighen Pater Thomas a Jesu, Definitor Generael der Carmeliten Discalsen in 't Latyn beschreven, etc. Ypres, 1682. [Ghent.]

IV

1808. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42), vol. ii, pp. 305–6.

1809. Arintero, R.P. Fr. Juan G., O.P.: "Santa Teresa y el P. Tomás de Jesús," in *La Ciencia Tomista*, 1925, vol. xxxi, pp. 54–73.

1810. Benoît-Marie de la Sainte-Croix, R.P., O.C.D. [Fr. Benedict Zimmerman]: *Les Saints Déserts des Carmes Déchaussés.* Paris, 1927.

1811. Claudio de Jesús Crucificado, C.D.: "Verdadera doctrina de N.V.P. Tomás de Jesús, sobre la contemplación adquirida," in *Mensajero de Santa Teresa*, vol. ii, pp. 378–82, 429–33, 461–6; vol. iii, pp. 13–18, 54–61, 83–90, 172–77, 219–24, 254–8.
Cf. also the same author's article: "Relaciones de la escuela de Tomás de Jesús con el quietismo," in *Monte Carmelo*, vol. xxvi, pp. 66–75.

1812. Florencio del Niño Jesús, R.P. Fr., C.D.: *La Orden de Santa Teresa, la fundación de la Propaganda Fide y las Misiones Carmelitanas.* Madrid, 1923.

1813. José del Espíritu Santo, R.P. Fr., C.D.: *Cursus Theologiæ Mystico-Scholasticæ, in sex tomos divisus* . . . auctore P. Fr. Joseph a Spiritu Sancto, O.C.D. . . . Editio nova . . . a P. Fr. Anastasio a S. Paulo . . . eiusdem Ordinis . . . accuratissime exacta. Bruges, 1924 ff. In progress.

1814. Salaville, P. S.: "Un précurseur de la Propagande et un apôtre des Missions: N.P. Thomas de Jésus, Carme Déchaussé," in *Études Carmélitaines historiques et critiques*, 1920, 5e année, pp. 301–23. [Reprinted from *Echos d'Orient*, June, 1920.]

LUIS DE LA PUENTE

[B.N. and B.S.I. have a considerable number of La Puente MSS., though many of these have already been published.]

I

(*a*) Editions of Collected Works

1815. *Obras espirituales del V.P. Luis de la Puente, S.J., natural de la ciudad de Valladolid, en cinco tomos.* Madrid, 1690. 5 vols. [B.M., B.N., B. Ter., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia, R.B.E., S.C. Vall., Sal. U., Sev. U.] Contents:

I: *Meditaciones* (preceded by the "epitome" of the author's life by P. Cachupín, referred to below). II, III: *De la perfección en el estado de Cristiano; De la perfección del Cristiano en los estados y oficios de la república seglar, eclesiástica y religiosa.* IV: *Guía espiritual.* V: *Directorio espiritual*; *Tesoro escondido; Vida del Padre Baltasar Alvarez; Cartas.*

Other editions are: (**1816**) *Obras espirituales.* Madrid, 1751–4. 30 vols. [B.U., B. Sem. Cuenca, Gr. U.] (**1817**) *Obras espirituales.* Barcelona, 1856. [B. Sem. Cuenca.]

(*b*) Editions of Single Works in Spanish

1818. *Compendio de las meditaciones del P. Luis de la Puente acerca de la vida y pasión de Jesu Cristo Redentor nuestro, repartidas por todas las Dominicas del año.* Valencia, 1617. [B.S.I.]

Later editions are: (**1819**) Barcelona, 1661 [B.N.]; (**1820**) Madrid, 1667 [B.S.I.]; (**1821**) Seville, 1688 [B.N.]; (**1822**) Madrid, 1709 [B.S.I.]; (**1823**) Barcelona, 1766 [B. Sem. Cuenca]; (**1824**) Madrid, 1770 [B.N.]; (**1825**) Madrid, 1847 [B.N.]; (**1826**) Valencia, 1851 [B.N.]; (**1827**) Madrid, 1859 [B.N.]

1828. *Consuelo de enfermos y atribulados y práctica de ayudar a bien morir.* Pamplona, 1668. [Sal. U.]

1829. *Directorio espiritual de los santos sacramentos de confesión y comunión, y del santo sacrificio de la Misa.* Sevilla, 1625. [B.N.]

1830. *Guía espiritual, en que se trata de la oración, meditación y contemplación. De las divinas visitas, y gracias extraordinarias. De la mortificación, y obras heroicas que las acompañan.* Compuesta por el P. Luis de la Puente, S.J., natural de Valladolid, etc. Valladolid, 1609. [B.N., B.S.I., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia, Sal. U.]

Later editions are: (**1831**) Madrid, 1614 (revised by the author) [B.M., B.N., B.S.I., Sev. U. *Cf.* C.P.P., No. 1295]; (**1832**) Valladolid, 1675, 2 vols. [B.N., B.S.I., S.C. Vall., Sal. U., Sev. U.]; (**1833**) Valencia, 1676 [B.N., B.S.I., Gr. U., Sal. U.]; (**1834**) Barcelona, 1877 [Mont.].

1835. *Meditaciones de los misterios de nuestra santa Fe, con la práctica de la oración mental sobre ellos.* Valladolid, 1605. 2 vols. [B.N., B.S.I., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia, Sal. U.]

Later editions are: (**1836**) Valladolid, 1607, 2 vols. [B.N.]; (**1837**) Barcelona, 1609 [Mont.]; (**1838**) Valladolid, 1613, 2 vols. [B.M., B.N., B.S.I., Sal. U., B. Sem. Conc., Segovia]; (**1839**) Madrid, 1655, 2 vols. [B.M.P., B.S.I.]; (**1840**) Madrid, 1718, 3 vols. [Sal. U.].

1841. *Meditaciones espirituales para los días de cuaresma.* Madrid, 1751. 3 vols. [B.S.I.]

1842. Madrid, 1753. 3 vols. [B.N.]

1843. *Meditaciones espirituales.* . . . Sacadas de sus obras espirituales, divididas en tres tomos y en seis partes para mayor comodidad de los dados a la contemplación. Madrid, 1718. [R.B.E.]

Later editions are: (**1844**) Barcelona, 1757 [B.N., T.L.B.]; (**1845**) Barcelona, 1855, 6 vols. [B.U.]; (**1846**) Barcelona, 1856, 3 vols. [B. Sem. Cuenca, B.U., R.B.E., Sev. U.]; (**1847**) Barcelona, 1877, 3 vols. [B. Sem. Cuenca].

1848. *Meditaciones sobre las virtudes y prerrogativas de la Sma. Virgen María.* Madrid, 1845. [B.N.]

1849. *De la Perfección del Cristiano en los estados y oficios de las tres repúblicas, seglar, eclesiástica y religiosa. Trátase más particularmente de la seglar.* 4 vols. Vols. i–ii, Valladolid, 1612, 1613. Vols. iii–iv, Pamplona, 1616. [B.M., B.N., Gr. U., Sal. U., S.C. Vall.]

Later editions: (**1850**) Barcelona, 1873, 8 vols. [B.N., Sev. U.]; (**1851**) Barcelona, 1898, 8 vols.

1852. *Práctica de ayudar a bien morir.* Sevilla, 1672. [B.N.]

1853. *Sentimientos y avisos espirituales* . . . con algunas de las jaculatorias y meditaciones de que usaba sacadas de su vida. Sevilla, 1671. [B.N.]

Another edition: (**1854**) Madrid, 1753. [B.N.]

1855. *Tesoro escondido en las enfermedades y trabajos descubierto por el venerable padre Luis de la Puente, añadida una breve práctica de ayudar a bien morir, del mismo autor.* Sevilla, 1672. [B.S.I.]

Later editions are: (**1856**) Madrid, 1750 [B.N., Sal. U.]; (**1857**) Madrid, 1881 [B.N.].

1858. *Vida del padre Baltasar Álvarez, religioso de la Compañía de Jesús.* Madrid, 1615. [B.N., Gr. U., R.A.H., Sal. U.]

1859. *Vida maravillosa de la venerable Virgen Dª. Marina de Escobar, natural de Valladolid,* sacada de lo que ella misma escribió de orden de sus Padres Espirituales. Madrid, 1665–73. 2 vols. [B.N., Gr. U., H.S.A., Sal. U., Sant. U., Vall. U. B.S.I. has vol. i only.]

1860. Madrid, 1766. 3 vols. [B.N., B.S.I., B. Ter., Sev. U.]

1861. *Compendio de las meditaciones del P. Luis de la Puente.* Recopilado por el P. Nicolás de Arnaya. Madrid, 1617. [N. Ant.]

Also (**1862**) Madrid, 1859.

(*c*) Editions of Single Works in Latin

1863. *Compendium seu breviarium absolutissimum omnium meditationum de præcipuis fidei nostræ mysteriis, etc.* Mons, 1628. [B.M.]
Other editions: (**1864**) Cologne, 1629 [B.M.]; (**1865**) Lyons, 1713, 2 vols. [B.S.I., B. Sem. Cuenca, Sal. U.].

1866. *Dux Spiritualis, in quo agitur de oratione, meditatione et contemplatione, etc.*, interprete P. Melchiore Trevinnio. Cologne, 1613. [B.S.I.]

1867. *Expositio moralis (et mystica) in Canticum Canticorum.* Exhortationes continens de omnibus Christianæ Religionis Mysteriis atque virtutibus. Paris, 1622. 2 vols. [B.U., B.S.I., Sal. U., Bibl. del Seminario de Corbán (Province of Santander). Consulted on one occasion, by the courtesy of the last-named library, at B.M.P.]
Another edition: (**1868**) Paris, 1646. [N. Ant. No copy found.]

1869. *Meditationes de præcipuis fidei nostræ mysteriis, vitæ ac pasionis D.N. Jesu Christi et B.V. Mariæ, sanctorumque et evangelorum toto anno ocurrentium cum orationis mentalis;* interprete P. Melchiore Trevinnio. Coloniæ, 1611–13. 4 vols. [B.S.I.]
Other editions are: (**1870**) Cologne, 1619, 2 vols. [B.M.]; (**1871**) Waldsassii, 1734 [B.S.I.]; (**1872**) Praga, 1753–5 [B.S.I.].

1873. *De Perfectione Christiani, etc.* Cologne, 1614. [N. Ant.]

1874. *Pretiosa sensa et cœlestia lumina, nec non piæ quadam meditationes, documenta ac orationes*, P. Aureliano de Baënst interprete. Amsterdam, 1698. [B.S.I.]
Another edition: (**1875**) Ratisbon, 1873. [B.M.]

1876. *Vita P. Balthasaris Alvarez Societatis Jesu.* Cologne, 1616. [B.M., B.U.]

II

1877. *Obras espirituales póstumas del V.P. Luis de la Puente, etc., o sea Sentimientos y Avisos Espirituales, Meditaciones y Cartas.* [Edited by P. Elías Reyero, S.J., with a brief bibliography.] Valladolid, 1917.

1878. *Compendio de las meditaciones del P. Luis de la Puente.* Recopilado por el P. Nicolás de Arnaya. Barcelona, 1898.
A Latin edition (**1879**) of the *Meditaciones* was published at Freiburg in 1908. Other Spanish editions are those of (**1880**) Barcelona, 1897, and (**1881**) Madrid, 1923.

1882. *Dux Spiritualis*, interprete M. Trevinnio, S.J. Ratisbon, 1921, 3 vols.

1883. *Guía espiritual.* Madrid, Apostolado de la Prensa, 1927.
[A popular edition.]

1884. *Reimpresión de la oración compuesta por el Padre Luis de la Puente, etc.* Valladolid, 1924.

1885. *Vida del padre Baltasar Álvarez, etc.* Madrid, 1880. Also (**1885a**) Madrid, 1920.

III

(*a*) Translations into English

1886. *Meditations upon the mysteries of our holy faith, with the practice of mental prayer touching the same.* Composed in Spanish by the R.F. Luys de la Puente of the Society of Jesus, native of Valladolid, and translated into English by Richard Gibbons of the same Society. London, 1610. [B.M.]

1887. *Meditations upon the mysteries of our holie faith, with the practice of mental prayer touching the same.* Composed in Spanish, by the Reuerend Father, Lewis of Puente. . . . And translated out of Spanish into English, by John Heighman. St. Omers, 1619. 2 vols. [B.M.]

1888. *Meditations on the mysteries of our holy faith, together with a treatise on mental prayer, etc.* London, 1852. 6 vols.
[This is a revised and corrected edition of No. 1887.]

1889. *Life of Father Balthasar Alvarez, religious of the Society of Jesus.* By F. Louis du Pont (*sic*) of the same Society. Translated from the French (*sic*). London, 1868. 2 vols. [B.M.]
N. Ant. mentions (**1890**) an English translation of the *Compendio* (No. 1818) by Thomas Everard, but I have not traced this.

(*b*) Translations into other Modern Languages

French

1891. *Très-excellentes méditations sur tous les mystères de la foi. Avec la pratique de l'oraison mentale.* Composées par le R.P. Louis du Pont . . . et traduites . . . par M. R. Gaultier. Paris, 1614. 2 vols. [B.M.]
N. Ant. and others give an earlier edition (**1892**) of this translation (Paris, 1612); also two editions of a translation by Rosset: (**1893**) Paris, 1612 and (**1894**) Paris, 1627; another by (**1895**) Rosset and Jaurimont, Paris, 1614; and one by (**1896**) Bernard de Monterreal of Paris, 1645, in 6 vols.
The only other French translation of the *Meditaciones* which I have seen is (**1897**) *Meditations sur les mystères de la foi, etc.* Traduites de l'espagnol par un Père de la même Compagnie [Jean Brignon, S.J.]. Paris, 1683–4. 3 vols. [B.M.]

1898. *De la perfection du Chrestien en tous ses estats, divisée en trois tomes.* Par Louys du Pont, etc. Traduicte en François par René Gaultier. Paris, 1613–14. 2 vols. [P.L.B.]
[N. Ant. gives (**1899**) an earlier edition of this version: Paris, 1612.]

1900. *Vie du père Balthasar Alvarez.* Paris, 1912.

ITALIAN

1901. *Compendio delle meditationi,* composto dal P. Nicolo de Arnaya, tradotto da Tiberio Putignani. Brescia, 1621. [B.S.I.] An earlier edition of (**1902**) Valencia, 1617, is also said to exist.

Other editions are: (**1903**) Rome, 1623 [B.S.I.]; (**1904**) Venice, 1674 [B.S.I.].

1905. *Meditationi del Padre Lodovico da Ponte.* Tradotte dalla lingua castigliana nella toscana del Sig. Giulio Cesare Braccini da Lucca. Bologna, 1672. [B.S.I.] Incomplete.

N. Ant. says that the first edition of this translation is that of (**1906**) Rome, 1620.

1907. *Meditazioni.* Tradotte dal Signor Giulio Cesare Braccini, etc. Turin, 1852. [B.M.]

1908. *Vita del P. Baldassar Alvarez,* tradotta dal spagnuolo da Angelo Erminis. Lyons, 1644. [B.S.I.]

Other Italian editions and translations are those of (**1909**) Bologna, 1646 [B.S.I.]; (**1910**) Rome, 1692 [B.U.]; and (**1911**) Venice, 1793 [B.S.I., B.U., R.A.H.].

FLEMISH

1912. *Der zielen lusthof, inhoudende I. Het leven ende lijden onses Heeren Jesu Christi . . . II. De wercken der apostelen. III. De openbaringe van St. Jan, etc.* Louvain, 1629. [H.U.]

IV

1913. Abad, R.P. C. M., S.J.: "El V.P. Luis de la Puente y los Ejercicios de San Ignacio," in *Manresa,* vol. i, pp. 236–47.

1914. Abad, R.P. C. M., S.J.: "Doctrina mística del V.P. Luis de la Puente," in *Estudios eclesiásticos,* vol. iii, pp. 113–37, vol. iv, pp. 43–58, 251–72.

1915. Abad, R.P. C. M., S.J.: "El V.P. Luis de la Puente y las doctrinas tomistas en Valladolid (1594–5)," in *Razón y Fe,* 1924, año xxiv, pp. 165–84.

1916. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (cf. *S.S.M.,* I, Bibl., No. 42), vol. ii, pp. 59–60.

1917. Cachupín, R.P. Francisco, S.J.: *Vida y virtudes del V.P. Luis de la Puente, S.J., etc.* Salamanca, 1652. [B.M.P., Sal. U.] [*Cf.* No. 1815, above.] Italian translation (**1917a**) Venice, 1733 [B.M.].

1918. Dudon, R.P. Paul, S.J.: "Les leçons d'oraison du P. Balthazar Alvarez (1573–8)," in *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique,* 1921, vol. ii, pp. 36–57.

1919. Lamparter, Heinrich: *Vita et virtutes venerabilis patris L. de Ponte, etc.* Ingolstadt, 1662. [B.M.]

1920. *Life of the Venerable F. Louis de Ponte, of the Society of Jesus.* London, 1882.

1921. Mayr, Juan: *Vida del V.P. Luis de la Puente, de la Compañía de Jesús.* Dülmen, 1902.

1922. Pérez, R.P. Nazario, S.J.: "El V.P. Luis de la Puente," in *La Vida Sobrenatural*, vol. viii, pp. 273–83.

1923. Rivera Manescáu, S.: "Notas para un estudio biográfico del P. Luis de la Puente," in *Revista Histórica*. Valladolid, 1924. Vol. ii, pp. 133–5, 145–56.

1924. *Semana y Congreso ascéticos, celebrados en Valladolid del* 28 *al* 30 *de octubre de* 1924. Valladolid, 1926. [Tercentenary of the death of Luis de la Puente.]

JUAN FALCONI

I

(*a*) Editions of Collected Works

1925. *Obras espirituales del venerable padre presentado, Fr Juan Falconi, del Orden Calzado de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Redención de Cautivos*, recogidas y dadas a la estampa por el muy R.P.M. Fr. José Sanchis, Provincial de la Provincia de Valencia de la misma Orden. . . . Valencia, 1660. [B.S.I., B.U.]

[Contains: *Cartilla primera, etc., La Vida de Dios, etc., Cartilla segunda, etc., El Pan Nuestro de cada día, Mementos de la Misa.* A brief biography, by Fr. Pedro de Arriola, precedes these works. This is probably the edition described by N. Ant. as of Valencia, 1662.]

1926. *Obras espirituales del V.P. Presentado Fr. Juan Falconi*, nuevamente recopiladas y aumentadas . . . con varios tratados y la vida del autor, por el R.P. Fr. Felipe Colombo. Barcelona, 1676. [B.U., 3 copies, one of which is much mutilated; Sant. U. *Cf.* C.G.G., No. 221.]

This edition has a much longer biography than the last, and, besides all the works included in the 1660 edition, contains the *Tesoro de las Misericordias de Dios.*

Later editions are: (**1927**) Madrid, 1680; (**1928**) Zaragoza, 1726; (**1929**) Madrid, 1726; (**1930**) Madrid, 1732 [B.N.]; (**1931**) Madrid, 1763 [B.N.]. These (all except the last two in B.U.) include the *Tesoro* and preface the shorter biography (Arriola's) to the text. B.S.I. and C.A.F.V. have also an edition (**1932**) of Zaragoza without date (? 1700).

A (**1933**) Madrid edition of 1780 [B.U.], in two volumes (the second dated 1783 [Gr. U.]), is described above (pp. 370 ff.). The first volume contains Arriola's biography of Falconi and all the works included in the 1676 edition; the second volume contains prefaces, the *Camino derecho* (or *Libro de la oración*) and the *Compendio breve de la perfección cristiana.*

(*b*) Editions of Single Works in Spanish

1934. *Cartilla para saber leer en Cristo libro de vida eterna, y para que los principiantes aprendan fácil y brevemente a tener oración.* Barcelona, 1637. [B.U.]

[This contains the first *Cartilla*, the *Libro de la Vida, Jesús crucificado*, *Preguntas entre maestro y discípulo*, *Puntos para tener oración mental*, and some verses.]

1935. *Sacro monumento. Cartilla segunda para leer en Cristo sueltamente, que el V.P. Presentado Fr. Juan Falconi . . . prometió en vida, y en prendas de su amor dejó en su muerte.* (Edited by Fr. Pedro de Arriola.) Zaragoza, 1651. [B.N.]

[Preceded by the editor's " compendium " of the author's life.]

1936. *Mementos de la Misa, y modo muy importante de ofrecerla.* Valencia, 1662. [N. Ant.]

1937. *El Pan nuestro de cada día, esto es, el SS. Sacramento del Altar, que nos enseña Christo a pedirle en el Padre nuestro, como pan quotidiano del alma, etc.* Añadido ahora un tratado del *Tesoro de las Misericordias de Dios.* Madrid, 1661. [B.U.]

B.N. has an apparently later edition (**1938**) Seville (*n.d.*) (*cf.* Esc., No. 2681), which also contains the *Tesoro* with continuous pagination. It has also (**1939**) an exactly similar edition, apparently printed from the same type, and dated Madrid, 1740.

1940. *Obra espiritual del Venerable Padre Presentado Fray Juan Falconi, etc., entresacada de las que recogió el Rmo. P. Fr. Joseph Sanchis, etc.* Barcelona [en casa Francisco Genéras] (*n.d.*).

[This work is the *Pan nuestro de cada día.* The date is posterior to 1679.] [B.N., B.U.]

1941. *Preparación de la misa, según el misal romano, Mementos del V.P. Pres. Fr. Juan Falconi, etc.* Madrid, 1768.

[At fol. 55r. a second title-page reads: *Modo muy importante de ordenar los mementos de la misa, y ofrecerla para mayor bien de las almas*, sacado de la doctrina de los Santos, y Doctores de la Iglesia, por el V.P. Pres. Juan Falconi, etc.] [B. Sem. Conc., Segovia.]

Later editions are: (**1942**) Madrid, 1777 [B.N.]; (**1943**) Madrid, 1827 [B.N.].

(*c*) Editions of Single Works in Italian

[The importance of Falconi's Italian works will justify this departure from the usual system of arrangement. Translations into Italian are also grouped in this sub-section.]

1944. *Alfabeto per saper leggere in Christo libro de vida eterna*, composto dal Venerabile P. Presentado Fra Giovanni Falconi . . . tradotto

dallo Spagnuolo in Italiano dal R.P.F. Gioseppe da Melandogno, Capuccino. Rome, 1665. [B.U.; B. Barberini, Vatican, Rome.]

Contains the two *Cartillas*, without the *Vida de Dios*. There was apparently an earlier impression in Italian; this is a "modern" and "amended" impression. (**1945**) Rome, 1669 [B. Barberini, Vatican, Rome]; (**1946**) Rome, 1675, 4th impression, revised [Sal. U.], contains the two *Cartillas*, with a separately paged opuscule which has the following title-page: (**1947**) *Alfabeto, etc.* (as No. 1944). Lecce, 1660. [At the end of this comes *Memento della Messa e modo molto importante di offerirla*, due to the same translator, *cf.* No. 1951.] [B. Barberini and B. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.]

1948. *Alfabeto per saper leggere in Christo. Lettera ad una figliuola spirituale, ed un' altra ad un religioso, etc. Con la vita del medesimo.* Tradotto dallo Spagnuolo. Rome, 1680. [B. Nat.; B. Barberini, Vatican, Rome.]

1949. *Lettera scritta dal servo di Dio P. Presentato Fra Gio. Falconi, dell'Ordine di Nostra Sig. della Mercede. Ad una figliuola spirituale, nella quale le insegna il più puro e perfetto spirito dell'orazione*, stampata già in Madrid l'anno 1657. In Roma, per il Mascardi, 1673. A spese di Carlo Capo d'Oro. [B. Barberini, Vatican, Rome; Sal. U.]

1950. *Lettera scritta dal servo di Dio P. Presentato Fra Gio. Falconi, dell'Ordine di Nostra Sig. della Mercede. Ad un religioso. In difesa del modo d'Oratione in pura fede da lui insegnato, in Madrid, l'anno* 1629. Tradotta dalla lingua spagnuola nell'italiana. In Roma, per il success. del Mascardi, 1674. A spese di Carolo Capo d'Oro. [B. Barberini, Vatican, Rome.]

1951. *Memento della Messa, e modo molto importante d'offrirla, etc.*, cavato dalla dotrina de' Santi e Dottori della Chiesa per il Venerabile Presentato Fr. Giovanni Falconi. Tradotta dall'idioma spagnuolo all'italiano dal R.P.F. Gioseppe da Melandogno. Lecce, 1660. [B. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.]

III

1952. *Les œuvres spirituelles du . . . père Jean Falconi, etc.* Ouvrage . . . traduit en langue française avec l'abrégé de la vie admirable du même auteur. Aix, 1661. [B. Nat.]

1953. *Trois traités spirituels: I. Contenant l'Alphabet pour apprendre à lire dans le livre de la vie éternelle, qui est Jésus-Christ; II. De la vie incompréhensible de Dieu; III. De l'Oraison.* Composés en espagnol par le . . . Père Jean Falconi, etc. 2e édition, augmentée des règles importantes pour faire l'oraison, par le P. Mathieu de Villaroel. Paris, 1667. [B. de l'Arsenal, Paris; B. Nat.]

1954. *Lettre du serviteur de Dieu le R.P. Jean Falconi, etc., à une de ses filles spirituelles, où il lui enseigne le plus pur et le plus parfait esprit*

de l'oraison. Traduite de l'original imprimé à Madrid l'an 1657. Paris, 1668. [B. Nat.]

Other editions are: (**1955**) Grenoble, 1685 [B. Nat.], and (**1956**) Paris, 1691 [B. Nat.].

1957. *Nostre pain quotidien.* Traduit d'espagnol en français, etc. Rennes, 1633. [B. Nat.]

Later editions are: (**1958**) Paris, 1671 [B. Nat.]; (**1959**) Paris, 1672 [B. Nat.]; (**1960**) Paris, 1677 [B. Nat.]; (**1961**) Paris, 1890 [B.M.].

IV

1962. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (cf. *S.S.M.*, I, Bibl., No. 42), vol. i, p. 688.

1963. Dudon, R.P. Paul, S.J.: *Le quiétiste espagnol, Miguel de Molinos.* Paris, 1921. [Has a useful bibliography.]

1964. Rojas, Juan de: *El candelero del templo, obras y virtudes de Fr. Juan Falconi, de la Orden de la Merced.* Madrid, 1674. [R.A.H.]

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[No references are given to the Bibliography, to *S.S.M.*, I, to books of the Bible and their authors or to single poems by any of the writers dealt with in this or the preceding volume. The prose works of these writers are indexed under their English titles only. Works by authors mentioned incidentally are not as a rule indexed separately, and references to them will be found under those authors' names. The letter "*n*" following the number of a page indicates that the reference will be found among the notes of that page. The Spanish letters "*ch*," "*ll*," "*ñ*," are treated as though English.]

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